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The Week

WHEN the drought began, many people looked upon it as a blessing not too adequately disguised. The country, under its present money economy, was suffering from a surplus of many farm products; nature now seemed to be playing Secretary Wallace's game for him and better than he himself could do. Today, however, that view has largely disappeared. It is true that surpluses, except that of cotton, have been largely wiped out; but the accompanying ruin and desolation have revealed the drought as a genuine national calamity. High prices are of no avail to a farmer who is left with nothing to sell. Hundreds of thousands of people are already completely destitute and dependent on federal relief, and their numbers are rapidly growing. Cattle are being dumped on the market far in excess of the immediate food requirements of the nation; the present surplus will be matched by a later famine, with famine prices. The hide and leather industry is in a panic as a sudden oversupply brings the price down and disrupts the normal economic process. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration estimates the damage already done at $5,000,000,000, and says that 27,000,000 people and 60 percent of the nation's geographic area are affected. Meanwhile although rains bring temporary relief in certain areas, high temperatures continue over the Middle West as a whole and the suffering both of animals and human beings is intense. With the failure of the water supply, typhoid and other filth diseases have appeared in numerous areas. In the worst districts, the air is filled with the stench of decaying flesh and green vegetation has almost wholly disappeared. A visit to the affected regions should quickly change the mind of anyone who feels that "on the whole, the drought is a good thing."

THE past week has been marked by public comments on the question of naval armament by spokesmen for all three powers most concerned with this subject. Premier Okada of Japan gave an interview to the press in which he said that reduction of armament is desirable, but not equal reduction for all the powers. This is a well known Japanese thesis; in 1932, Japan asked a reduction in the American navy of 34 percent, against nine percent in her own; it is an open secret that she now demands a larger cut in the American navy, perhaps as much as 44 percent. Premier Okada was at first understood to have said that Japan would not demand absolute parity in 1935, but it was hastily explained that this was not true, that he had merely said he did not expect the United States and Great Britain to be willing to come down to the present Japanese level. Japan still stands by her demand for complete equality.

IN England, Earl Beatty last week made a few remarks about the British navy. "The time has come," he is reported to have said, "when the shackles of international agreements should be thrown off and the shackle accepted in the Treaty of London should be repudiated." In other words, the doughty old Admiral wants Great Britain to build to the limit, restoring a race in naval armament that is certain to end in war or national bankruptcy of all the great powers, or both. Fortunately, it is reasonably clear that Lord Beatty's is the ultra-jingo viewpoint, not shared even by the present markedly militaristic British government. The American contribution to this international debate

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was a proposal by Mr. Swanson, Secretary of the Navy, for a general 20 percent cut in all naval forces. This is a sensible suggestion, but Mr. Swanson knows as well as anyone that the chances are a thousand to one against its being accepted at this time and in this form. He is "talking for the record," as Mr. Hoover did in suggesting a one-third reduction, and as Mr. Roosevelt has done in agreeing to any reduction for which the powers are ready. The Japanese were quick to announce that they would not accept the Swanson suggestion under any circumstances, since it would mean that they must scrap good, new ships while the United States would destroy obsolete vessels or those that now exist only on paper. In short, the outlook for the naval conference of 1935 continues to be as dark as possible. At least two of the leading governments are opposed both to any substantial degree of disarmament and to maintenance of the status quo, and since even one obstructionist country can wreck a conference, failure seems almost inevitable.

CHANCELLOR-PRESIDENT Hitler has given an interview to The London Daily Mail which, if it could be taken at its face value, would be reassuring. He declares that Germany will never go to war of her own volition; that she is satisfied with her present frontiers and that the life of no German should be sacrificed in the effort to get back any of the German colonies. His country, he says, will not attack Austria, though he cannot prevent the Austrians from seeking union with Germany. That problem, however, is for the distant future. Of his own position as absolute head of the state, he says that it will continue only as long as the German people indicate a desire for it by their votes. Unfortunately, it is impossible to take Herr Hitler's statements at their face value. He has made similar declarations of peaceful intent in the past, but in the meantime he continues to follow policies that augment the tension in Europe. German complicity in the Nazi uprising in Austria is now too clear to be questioned by anyone. Germany's desperate military preparations are on a scale that cannot be explained by any theory of purely defensive armament. It may be true that Hitler himself would like peace, but he also insists upon things that in the long run can be gained only through war.

ACCORDING to Professor Sidney B. Fay's review of Professor Charles Seymour's "American Diplomacy During the World War," on page 26 of this issue, Mr. Seymour suggests that President Wilson may yet be recognized as an example of success through failure. Mr. Fay adds that the world today needs more of the Wilsonian vision. We cannot question the scholarship of these distinguished historians, but we do question their political judgment on this issue. The specific lesson which, it seems to us, should be learned from Wilson's failure is the futility, the downright danger of noble ideas when pursued with inappropriate instruments and when not related to the objective situation. He drew the United States into the War with a web of lofty words concealing the very material pressure to put us in—which existed despite the fact that no member of the Morgan firm may have asked him to declare war. Wilson tried to create a healing peace without reckoning with the imperialistic tendencies of the nations that would have to draft and administer it. He loftily overlooked the secret treaties. He assented to the carving up of Europe according to sentiments of political nationality without recognizing the underlying economic realities, or the strategic interest of France and Italy in weakening their enemies. The result of all this is what is now happening in Austria and Germany and the new war that will probably come. It is quite beside the point to counsel the world to return to Wilson's ideals. An abject failure is not ennobled by the fact that its intentions were good.

A POLITICAL sensation of the first magnitude has developed in Canada. Harry Stevens, Minister of Trade and Commerce in the present Conservative government, has issued a pamphlet which, if published in the United States, would get him called at least seventeen kinds of Red. He describes an unholy alliance between big business and government for the purpose of exploiting workers, consumers and farmers. Coming down to cases, he charges large packing houses with paying starvation prices to Western beef-raisers while earning large dividends for stockholders. He says needle workers are receiving only $4 to $9 a week. He says that Canada's anti-trust laws have been evaded right and left. He tells of unscrupulous promoters who overcapitalized the pulp and paper industry, took out $30,000,000 for themselves, and left the industry prostrate and the investing public holding the bag. That Mr. Stevens is no irresponsible alarmist is evidenced by the fact that some time ago he made similar but less sweeping charges that have been sustained by a formal investigation. Premier Bennett seems likely to ask for his resignation; but even if he is forced out of the cabinet, the effect of his attack will remain.

WHAT Mr. Stevens says must be read in the light of profound and widespread unrest which is obviously sweeping over Canada today. In recent provincial elections, the Conservatives formerly in power have been overwhelmingly defeated. In British Columbia, in Saskatchewan and Ontario, the Liberals have been placed in power and there seems little doubt that in the general election next year, they will win control. Of particular interest is the growing importance of the C.C.F.—the Coöperative Commonwealth Federation, an amalgamation of farmer, labor and socialist groups with a decidedly radical program. The C.C.F. demands socialization of the banks and the control of credit, public utilities and all the leading industries and definitely calls for a coöperative commonwealth in which pro-

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duction, distribution and exchange shall be for human needs and not for private profit. In British Columbia, the C.C.F. elected seven members out of forty-seven in the provincial legislature, and is the official opposition to the Liberals. Its share of the popular vote was even higher than the figures would indicate. Even in Ontario, it elected one candidate. Some astute Canadian political observers believe that if the Liberals win control of the federal government, they will prove no more effective than the Conservatives in solving Canada's problems, and that the C.C.F. is then likely to take control.

WHEN General Johnson, six weeks ago, discharged John Donovan, head of the N.R.A. Employees' Union, he doubtless hoped that his action would put a damper on the militancy of the union. That this was his purpose, he virtually admitted to E. Claude Babcock, president of the American Federation of Government Employees, of which the N.R.A. union is a lodge. After a talk with the General, Mr. Babcock reported that he had received the "very distinct impression from General Johnson that this lodge was in the hands of unfortunate people, and that it was his desire that I come to the N.R.A. and assist him in building up a lodge which would not be in those hands." Could the General have had in mind something innocuous—like a company union, perhaps? If so, he must be sorely disappointed by now. For the union has maintained a barrage of protest that has kept the Donovan case on the front pages of Washington papers for more than a month. And it has finally succeeded in getting the new National Industrial Relations Board to arbitrate the case. Moreover, the Board has agreed that the hearing, to be held this week, will be public—thus setting a precedent in National Labor Board proceedings. A recent mass meeting of accredited delegates from forty-eight Washington labor unions agreed that the Donovan case was an out-and-out trade-union issue. The delegates voted three to one to support the union in its demand that the officials involved in Donovan's dismissal be called upon to state the basis for their action. Meanwhile, pickets (from a citizen's committee supported by administration officials) parade before the Commerce Building. The slogans on their banners, "Chiseler No. 1, Johnson," and "This Concern Is Unfair to Organized Labor," may give Johnson another labor headache.

RANK Fascism in its purest form appears in a program adopted by the Board of Directors of the New York State Economic Council recently made public. This precious organization would make all general and sympathetic strikes illegal. It would prohibit compulsory unemployment insurance. It would prevent trade unions from requiring their members to contribute to "a political fund"—whatever that is. It opposes compulsory health insurance, the closed shop in connection with public works, any extension of the present New York old-age pensions, the federal child-labor amendment, membership by state or municipal employees in political organizations and taxes larger than two percent on real estate. Most outrageous of all of its suggestions is a demand that all persons on public relief rolls should be forbidden the right to vote. The Economic Council is, of course, a notorious ultra-conservative group of employers, and the only new point about its demands is the frankness with which they are brought forward. They are not worth answering in detail; the minds of these gentry are as closed to reason in general as they are to cold economic facts in particular. We should like to suggest, however, that if anyone is to be disfranchised, it should be that group in the community which has done the most harm to the peace and happiness of the American people. On such a basis, the members of the Economic Council would stand high on the list of candidates for ineligibility.

WE HAVE recently printed so much of a disagreeable character regarding San Francisco newspapers that we are particularly glad to comment on a sensible editorial that recently appeared in The News, the Scripps-Howard paper in that city. After making the customary disclaimer of any sympathy for the Communists, The News remarks:

> . . . The way to demonstrate that we cherish American institutions is to uphold them. When any minority, no matter how intensely unpopular it may be, is deprived of its legal rights, then none of us is safe. It may be some other minority's turn tomorrow. . . . When public officials instigate a lawless drive against radicals, as they have done in San Francisco, they are giving direct incitement to another dangerous minority, not unlike the Reds in temperament, whose sole idea of dealing with discontent is to stamp out its manifestations and to oppose all who propose to attack and remove its causes.
>
> Among the Communists are men and women animated by hate and capable of considerable mischief in a time of stress such as we have just passed through. Also among them are men and women whose hearts are of the best, whatever we think of their heads, and who have joined the movement because they have convinced themselves that our economic injustices and maladjustments cannot be corrected by constitutional means. The number of these latter will not be reduced by terrorism and violence. It can be reduced only by strengthening and speeding up the movement for orderly reform that is now under way. And it is significant that the groups and leaders in the forefront of the vigilante pack are men who are almost as hostile to the New Deal as they are to the Reds.
>
> We urge that courageous and enlightened citizens of California find their voice and speak out in warning against the danger of a mounting wave of intolerance and suppression.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about this editorial is the fact that it deserves to be mentioned at all. Nowadays, when a San Francisco newspaper publishes a fairminded statement about radicalism and violence, that's news. It was not always so.

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What Kind of Scarcity?

THE New Outlook has rushed to the aid of the hard-pressed reactionaries with an article by Robert R. Doane, entitled "But Is It a Surplus Economy?" At least, it would appear so from the way the conservative papers have taken it to their bosoms. Mr. Doane was promptly discharged from his job with the national Survey of Potential Product Capacity, which, he said, supported his conclusions. The Director of the Survey, Harold Loeb, denies that these conclusions are correct. Mr. Loeb also denies that the shake-up has anything to do with the publication of the article. Whatever the outcome of this controversy, we are willing to assert that no broad conclusions of any sort are yet possible as a result of this survey which could not have been made without it, and perhaps none ever will be. Discussion concerning whether or not this is a surplus economy and what should be done about it is in much more need of careful analysis than of additional statistics.

Mr. Doane's article sets forth that we have never grown enough of all kinds of food—even in 1929—to supply a high standard of diet to everybody, that we have a deficiency of good housing, which it would be impossible to supply promptly even with full employment of all available building resources, that we have never made enough clothing for everybody and that all the existing clothing factories could not do so. Therefore we still have, as other generations have had, an economy of scarcity, and there is no such thing as the paradox of "want in the midst of plenty." Whether or not all of Mr. Doane's figures will eventually be verified we do not know, but we are prepared to admit that they give a substantially true picture, since all the other reliable figures we know of show much the same picture. The New Republic has repeatedly urged that we do not now produce, and never have produced, enough of the right kinds of food, housing and clothing. Anybody who thinks that this country has actually piled up a surplus of all kinds of goods beyond the legitimate needs of the population is simply deluded. So far as we know, none of the adherents of the more radical schools of opinion ever shared this delusion. Indeed, the inadequacy with which consumers' needs are supplied is one cornerstone of all their doctrines. Why Mr. Doane or The New Outlook or the newspapers should think a demonstration of this kind has any damaging effect on radical theories is a mystery to us. The only theory assailed by these facts is the theory that we should destroy existing stocks of goods and should produce less of everything in the future—a theory practised only by avowed adherents and executives of the profit system.

What the radicals mean by "want in the midst of plenty" is that the existing want is not caused primarily by physical inability to produce and distribute more than we do, but by our economic institutions. The scarcity is not the result, in other words, of lack of material, labor or technical skill.

There is no question whatever that this is true. Mr. Doane would be insane to assert that we have not now an enormous supply of unused labor, factories, fields and mines. At the very least we could produce as much as we actually did produce in 1929. And few, even of the most conservative theorists, would deny that with a full and efficient use of our labor supply, an introduction of the best technical processes to backward concerns, and a general elimination of waste, we could produce far more than we did in 1929. How much more, is a matter of dispute, and will remain so until a planned attempt is actually made to do the job, and the answer is learned by trial. But these admissions are enough to establish the point. It is not necessary to know whether our labor, knowledge and resources could supply to every family a living that could be bought with an income of $10,000 or $5,000 or $3,000 in order to know that they could supply a substantially better one than exists.

Mr. Doane asserts that there is an inadequacy of construction equipment to make sufficient new houses, of factories to manufacture enough clothing. Whether or not these specific statements are true, there is large actual unused capacity in these and many other industries. Not unless the capitalist system can make a steady use of existing capacity can it conceivably be defended on the ground that whatever scarcity remains is a result of natural limitations rather than of economic organization. Even then, lack of capacity to produce an adequate amount of goods in existing plants might add to the weight of the indictment against the old order. The problem is to create the capacity. Why has it not been created? Surely not for lack of labor or untapped resources. It is not larger, because even the existing capacity cannot be employed, on account of the absence of a sufficient market for the goods at the prices charged.

As a matter of fact, the slackness and unemployment in the industries making buildings and equipment for production—durable capital goods of all kinds—has been one of the major phenomena of the depression. If it is now demonstrated that accompanying this idleness there was a great need for what these industries could produce—more equipment for production than we have ever had—the conception of want in the midst of plenty will be more firmly established than ever. The basic indictment against an order based on private ownership of the means of production and the quest for profit—that it brings about unnecessary scarcity—will only be strengthened.

It would, of course, require a heroic effort, the solution of many difficult technical problems and great skill in administration, to produce enough for everybody. No simple change would do the job. It could not be accomplished within a short time. But, under capitalism, the attempt is not even made. That is the one fact we should never forget.

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An Aside to Mark Sullivan

MARK SULLIVAN, in his syndicated column appearing in The New York Herald Tribune and many other papers, is using The New Republic as a stick with which to beat his pet scapegoat, Under-secretary of Agriculture Tugwell. It seems that the first editorial paragraph in our issue of August 1 was "an incitement to angry class consciousness, of the sort which in other countries has been used to bring about overturn of the established social order." And it seems that Mr. Tugwell is listed among our contributing editors. Hence Mr. Tugwell is a dangerous revolutionary. What could be simpler?

The editorial, as our readers may remember, ran as follows:

> Beneath the loudly publicized jubilation over the shooting of Dillinger by federal agents, we have discovered curious undercurrents. People are saying, "Well, after all, he only robbed the banks of a few thousands; what is that beside the money taken by the big financial crooks?" Or, "Well, after all, he is only accused of murdering one man; think of all the suicides and all the starvation caused by the Wall Street guys." Or, "Well, after all, think of the raw deal he got on his first sentence; most crooks are products of the way prisons are run." Or, "Well, after all, he risked his own life; but what chance did the fellows behind the big desks take? Most of them haven't even been sent to jail." Or, "Why couldn't they have taken him alive? It might have been somebody else. It's pretty dangerous when officers begin shooting in city streets." We do not approve these clearly immoral reflections; we simply report them.

Mr. Sullivan says the technique of the writer is "one of slyly conveying the subversive and provocative impression intended, while at the same time seeming artfully to disavow it." It is always dangerous for an editorial writer to indulge in irony, especially when Mr. Sullivan is about. But for his benefit we will try solemnly to express our intention without putting any strain on his sense of humor or allowing any play to his somewhat exasperated imagination. We shall do our best to be, not sly or artful, but flat and ponderous.

The comments we quoted were not invented by us, but were actually made by numerous people. We venture the opinion that many readers of Mr. Sullivan's column had made or heard others like them. Mr. Sullivan ought to be informed about these things, and we rendered him a service in telling him.

We do not approve of bank robbery or murder. We think bank robbers and murderers ought to be arrested and confined where they can do no more harm.

We do, however, sympathize with the comments we quoted in noting the strange contrast between the energy and fury that are employed in hunting down bank robbers, and the deliberation and uncertainty that are used in dealing with those who have deprived people of their savings in greater sums and by subtler and safer methods.

If Mr. Sullivan thinks there are no big thieves, let him turn to page 4 of The Herald Tribune in which his article appeared and read the news dispatch by the Associated Press from Detroit, beginning "Twenty-eight men—the list reading as if it might have been copied from a 'Who's Who in Detroit Business and Finance'—were named today in federal indictments charging misapplication of funds, conspiracy or the making of false entries in bank reports." We are willing to bet that these men will not receive punishment as appropriate to their crimes (if they be proved) as Dillinger's was to his.

In addition to the few who are indicted, tried and sent to jail, there are many who escape for lack of evidence, or who in some technical fashion manage to get away with other people's money without violating the law.

Recognition of these facts is common. Mr. Sullivan cannot allay "class feeling" by ignoring them. The responsibility for the feeling rests on the shoulders of those who, for private gain, have mismanaged financial institutions. The feeling is legitimate.

We do not believe that all bankers, financiers and speculators, or even more than a small minority of them, are dishonest. We do believe that the institutions that surround them, and the economic system in which they operate, lead to intermittent disaster. They cannot help that. But hostility to them is justified in so far as they support those institutions and that system, in so far as they combat necessary change. Mr. Sullivan is peculiarly sensitive in these matters, because he is one of their allies in trying to maintain virtually unmodified the order that was responsible for 1929-1934.

Mr. Tugwell has not vouched either for these opinions or those in the preceding editorial. He has no responsibility for the editorial policy of The New Republic, and never has had any. He was, at one time, a fairly regular contributor, and is responsible only for the articles printed over his name.

What Next in Germany?

AFTER the events of the past five weeks—the reign of terror of June 30, the Austrian *putsch* and the death of President von Hindenburg—each in itself a crisis of major proportion—the German Chancellor may look forward to the plebiscite of August 19 with something like equanimity. Having assumed the functions and suppressed the title of President, Adolf Hitler trusts that Goebbels, Propaganda Minister and Election Commissioner, with the help of the Storm Troop (S.A.) and Special Guard (S.S.) divisions, can so conduct the coming elections that a satisfying unanimity will be the result. Without the help of soldiers, who knows what the outcome of the poll might be?

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Even so, it is easily possible that the more than a million dissenters who voted "no" in the last Reichstag election may be multiplied five times over in spite of Hitler's bloody terror. Shop elections last spring showed that sentiment among industrial workers has undergone a radical revision. Nor will the poor peasant, who asked for land and was given a heritage law, who voted for Hitler's program of land expropriation and tax reduction and received an agricultural plan that ruins the peasant and helps the large estates, vote willingly to extend the Chancellor's powers. This is equally true of the craftsmen and journeymen, of the small storekeepers and businessmen who saw the hated coöperatives, department stores and one-price stores continue to flourish under the dictator's protecting hands.

Aside from registering popular opinion, the referendum, to be sure, is without legal weight. Under the extraordinary powers granted by the Reichstag to the Chancellor, he has full authority to amend the Constitution, and no subsequent referendum is required. Even if by some miracle an overwhelming disapproval of the amendment should be registered at the polls, the legality of the amendment would not be affected.

Nevertheless one may take it for granted that the German people will give Hitler the powers he demands and would do so, even in a free and unrestricted election, despite the opposition of large and important sections of the population. The majority is still under the spell of National Socialist ideas. A rigid censorship of the press and all other means of communication prevents it from learning what the world outside shouts from the housetops. In Germany propaganda by illegal organizations or the distribution of literature means death or worse. Moreover, such propaganda reaches only a small fraction of the population.

Presidential Prerogatives.—Because of von Hindenburg's apparently supine acceptance of Hitler's dictatorship, the world has minimized the authority vested in the office of President by the Weimar Constitution. Contrary to the popular impression, which envisaged Hitler and Göring as the undisputed rulers in the Reich, no attempt was ever made to deprive the titular head of the country of his prerogatives. Hitler's assumption of the presidential office is therefore more than a gesture. It adds very definite and important powers to those he already exercises and releases him from restraints that were often responsible for seemingly inexplicable contradictions in his policy.

Under the Weimar Constitution the President has supreme command of the army and navy, represents the Reich in internal law and makes alliances and treaties with foreign Powers. He approves and receives diplomatic representatives of foreign countries. These rights were never abrogated by the National Socialist regime. It is well known that diplomatic appointees on more than one occasion were vetoed by Dr. Meissner, von Hindenburg's influential State Secretary, or by the relatively insignificant Oskar von Hindenburg, the President's son, a fact that explains the feudal character of Hitler's foreign office. While von Hindenburg lived, it was these gentlemen, also, who made all important appointments in the Reichswehr and the navy. Baron von Fritsch, who replaced von Schleicher's intimate friend, von Hammerstein, as head of the Reichswehr, has always remained on terms of greatest intimacy with Meissner and the younger von Hindenburg. In his capacity as liaison officer between the President and the old grenadier guards, a Potsdam regiment of the military elite to which the Hindenburgs belonged, von Fritsch represented the Reichswehr in the negotiations that made Hitler "Leader and Chancellor" of the German people and officially abolished the office of President.

It is not generally known that von Fritsch predicated the Reichswehr's acceptance of Hitler's elevation on certain conditions that were laid before the first Cabinet session after von Hindenburg's death. These conditions were accepted. They place on the National Socialist government the following clearly defined restrictions: (1), Laws concerning the army will be valid only if signed by the *de facto* President and the Minister of Defense; (2), All questions of military strategy either at home or abroad shall be decided by the military chief of the army; (3), Hitler, on becoming *de facto* President, shall resign as leader of the National Socialist party. These demands were accepted by the Cabinet in principle but final decision was postponed to the following session because they involved a constitutional amendment. Hitler accepted the third in person, declaring, however, that the final decision must rest with the leaders of the Nazi party.

Hitler's Power.—It is difficult, because of the wall of censorship, to estimate with any exactness what influence the reign of terror and the death of von Hindenburg may have had on German public opinion. On the whole Hitler's position at this moment seems firmer than before June 30. Certainly the outlook for a speedy end of his regime is far from rosy.

To think otherwise is to assume that Hitler's power has always rested on the German masses. Nothing could be further from the truth. Hitler's strength has never depended on the will of the working or middle classes. He is held in power by more concentrated forces. They are, first and foremost, the heavy industrialists who financed and nursed the National Socialist party and placed its chiefs in the seats of the mighty. There is the Reichswehr with its superbly trained army of professional soldiers, men who obey commands and give a soldier's allegiance. There are, last of all, the Secret State Police, the Storm Troop and Special Guard regiments, giving protection and a sense of power to an army of unemployed and rudderless youngsters.

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In the recent past, to be sure, these props to Hitler's regime have proved of doubtful value. Internal dissensions threatened to shatter the boasted oneness of the corporate state. Conflicts broke out among the various industrial groups, and under the weight of impending economic disaster relations between Hitler and his industrialist supporters became cold and exceedingly tenuous. Both the Reichswehr and the feudal and industrial aristocracy behind it demanded the reduction and reorganization of the Storm Troop divisions, the former because they resented the concentration of power in the hands of these military interlopers, the latter because they feared the growing insistence of the proletarian elements on fulfillment of the Nazi party's social program. Hitler was in a quandary. Old friends and comrades could not be thus lightly thrust aside. On the other hand his opponents, with the Reichswehr at their beck and call, were making it painfully clear that his government would fall on the day the captains of industry withdrew their support.

In this balance Hitler weighed the S.A. and found it wanting. The fact that it had long been the bone of contention in foreign relations may have aided him in his decision. Be that as it may, the Chancellor made his choice and abided by it. The enmity of thousands who had been his trusting followers was the price he paid for continued support of the industrialists and the Reichswehr. For the moment his position is the firmer for the change. The S.A. accepted its defeat. What remains of the organization, purged of its radical and restive elements, is a reliable instrument in the Chancellor's hands. The powerful conservative elements of the Reich are on Hitler's side: the industrialists, Junkers, a large part of the Protestant clergy, the army, the navy and the Nazi S.S. and S.A. detachments, together with what remains of the organized war veterans, the *Stahlhelm,* now known as the National Socialist Front Fighters.

Disunited Opposition.—Against him are the Catholic Church, a strong Protestant minority represented by the Protestant *Notbund,* Socialists, Communists and trade unionists (numbering eleven million in 1932), at least half a million discharged S.A. men and, last but not least, those inveterate monarchists who are more than ever resentful of Hitler's usurpation of power. These groups are numerically strong and imbued with an intense hatred for the man at the head of the German state machine. But they are without leadership, without arms and what is most important, they are as mutually incompatible as they are hostile to the existing regime.

In the final analysis Hitler's tenure of office will depend largely on the development of Germany's economic affairs. The Ministry of Economics, now in the hands of Reichsbank President Schacht, will play an important part in the process of recuperation that Hitler promises to the nation's industries. Under last Saturday's industrial decree all raw materials except iron and precious metals are to be rationed by the government. Dr. Schacht has just announced that he will give a six-months' trial to the Hitler program of reducing imports of raw materials from other countries, depending on German science and chemistry to provide substitutes. But the outlook is more than discouraging. Schacht himself sees only two alternatives: still greater restriction of foreign imports—an approach to the Russian system of national industrial control—or mark inflation. The former is impractical because of the power wielded by Germany's industrialists. To the latter the Reichsbank President has consistently refused to agree; it was on this issue that the former Minister of Economics, Kurt Schmitt, resigned when the Cabinet refused to sanction his inflation program.

Despite this repudiation of an inflationist policy, German savings banks are reporting enormous withdrawals for May, June and July, so that instead of the customary surplus of deposits over withdrawals, these three months showed a monthly reduction of six million marks. Depositors are becoming distrustful of the government's policy of requisitioning bank reserves to finance public expenditures; wherever possible businessmen are investing their savings in commodities to escape total loss on monetary investments.

What Next?—Germany's foreign policies are more than ever undecided. Will Hitler return to the League of Nations and sign the "East Locarno" treaty? Will he give Austria the pledge she demands? Unless he relents on these important issues, Germany will continue to stand apart, an outcast among nations with all the misfortunes that this position entails. Last Monday the Chancellor called to heaven to preserve his nation's peace. But peace and National Socialism are incompatible. A National Socialist government must be nationalistic and imperialistic or it ceases to exist. Power is its vital essence, power maintained by conquest abroad and oppression and exploitation of the economically weak at home.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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German Socialism Underground

ABOUT ten months before Hitler's appointment to the Chancellorship a small group of Social Democrats and Communists who had lost inner contact with their parties met in Berlin to make—a new beginning. For purely tactical reasons this group decided to work within the organization of the Social Democratic party, pursuing its own ideological aims. In the months that followed it was able, through personal contact and without using written or printed propaganda material, to win adherents in a number of important industrial centers. When the party collapsed under the blows of the National Socialist regime there existed within it, unknown to its leaders, a skeleton organization of intelligent and active members who were able to take up revolutionary activity at once. They had what the Social Democracy lacked—an underground network of members in the important sections of the Reich, a network that represented a living embryo in the dying body of Germany's labor movement.

Several months passed before the group had completed its declaration of principles. But how to reach the public for which the principles were intended? The mere cost of publication presented no insurmountable obstacle. But the "New Beginners" felt that their voice would ring unheard, a cry in the wilderness, unless publication were authorized and officially financed. They laid the matter before Friedrich Adler, one of the leaders of the Austrian Social Democratic party who, in his capacity as Secretary of the Socialist Labor International, brought it to the attention of the Executive Committee of the German Social Democratic party in Prague and insisted on publication by that body. After considerable resistance, Wels, Vogel and the others agreed to issue the statement in three languages—German, French and English. It finally appeared early in October under the title "Neu beginnen! Faschismus oder Sozialismus" as Number Two in a series of Social Democratic pamphlets called "Problems of Socialism" that were to serve, so the introduction said, as the basis for a discussion on principles and tactics among German Socialists.

Only 10,000 copies of the sixty-two-page German booklet were printed. The promised French and English editions failed to materialize. Five months later the British N.C.L.C. Publishing Company of the National Council of Labor Colleges published a good translation in English—for which H. N. Brailsford wrote the introduction—under the title "Socialism's New Start (A Secret German Manifesto)." In the United States the League for Industrial Democracy has now put out the same translation for American readers, calling it "Socialism's New Beginning," with a foreword by Norman Thomas.[1] For obvious reasons the name of the author, a German refugee in Switzerland, remains anonymous. Authorship is attributed to "Miles" (Soldier).

I received the first intimation of the existence of this interesting document last October in Prague when Max Seydewitz, the refugee Reichstag deputy and editor who, together with Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld had been the founder of the Socialist Workers party of Germany, brought it to my attention. Inquiry at the excellently equipped Social Democratic bookstore in Prague was barren of results. No one knew of the existence of such a pamphlet. Seydewitz procured a copy for me just before I left. In Vienna, a week later, I met a representative of the "Neu beginnen" group who corroborated what I had previously learned.

One can readily understand the reluctance of the German leaders. The booklet is a forceful criticism of German Social Democratic policies in the past and demands a vigorous turn to the left in principles and tactics for the entire International. Its central thought is well expressed on page 60 of the American edition in the sentences:

> A Socialist party which earnestly desires socialism should not check its onward march for fear of the crisis in the state which may arise from its own victorious advance. On the contrary, it should bear in mind the fact that only in such a profound and serious crisis of the prevailing order of society is it possible to found a socialist state, and thus to lay the foundation stone of the edifice of socialism.

"Socialism's New Beginning" is thus based on the recognition that Hitler's fascism in Germany owes its victory in no small degree to the fact that the labor movement failed to fulfill its mission in the last decisive years of capitalist crisis.

> It is therefore an illusion [says Miles] to think that the German Social Democracy was at heart a revolutionary Marxist party up to August, 1914, and that it then betrayed its faith in Marxism as a result of the meanspiritedness or the lack of understanding of its leaders. It could not betray principles which it never possessed. Its objective has always been, at the most, a bourgeois democratic republic. Any efforts toward this end were bound, it is true, under the Hohenzollern monarchy, to have a revolutionary character, that is, a bourgeois revolutionary character. . . . In the succeeding period, also, of the Weimar Republic, German Social Democracy remained true to its principles—true to the bourgeois state and to capitalism.

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[1] Socialism's New Beginning. A Manifesto from Underground Germany by Miles. Prefaces by H. N. Brailsford and Norman Thomas. New York: League for Industrial Democracy. 148 pages. 35 cents.

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> . . . In every critical situation, in the inflation, in the various slumps and during the reactionary attacks of the bourgeoisie on the workers' interests, the Social Democrats usually allowed the interests of the bourgeois state to take precedence over the proletarian class struggle, priding themselves, into the bargain, on their sense of responsibility.

Although sharply critical of both the Social Democratic and Communist parties, "Socialism's New Beginning" is essentially a constructive piece of work. It aims to build new foundations for the labor movement of the future. It recognizes fascism for what it is—the product of a decaying capitalism; sees in the centralized fascist state the last stand of the bourgeoisie against the Socialist state, which alone, it believes, can maintain and continue the industrial, cultural and social achievements of the human race. But with a sane sense of realities it rejects the delusion that sees fascism crumbling under the weight of its own contradictions. The destruction of fascism, says Miles, must be accomplished by the masses, but this will be no spontaneous, no sudden process. "It can happen only under certain conditions and even then must be consciously organized and planned by a force which has the same advantages as fascism itself—centralization and the ability to plan deliberately. . . ." How sound this reasoning is, events in Germany of the last few weeks have shown. Hundreds of thousands have waited with eager intensity for the fascist debacle that did not materialize.

The booklet contains much that is fantastic and ill advised: the appeal to the Communist International that it liquidate and join the Socialist Labor International; the bitter criticism of those groups that split off from the Social Democracy because they could no longer support its activity and its views. These detract from, but do not destroy, the value of the searching analysis of the nature of bourgeois, fascist and social development and the clear picture of the dangers of a too literal acceptance of the Marxian conception of the inevitability of the social revolution.

This is succinctly expressed by Norman Thomas in his foreword. He says:

> This little book will render service to the cause of realistic thinking about socialist philosophy and tactic. For thinking we too often substitute labels "left," "right" and what not. Both "lefts" and "rights," as those labels have been used in the past, would find it difficult to classify the position of the "New Beginning" group as expressed in this book!

The Socialist movement of the world is striking out along new paths. Suffering has been a hard taskmaster. Under the lash it is learning the lesson it refused to grasp before. The Vienna Central Committee of Revolutionary Socialists, the official representative of the Austrian Social Democratic underground movement, has just appealed to the International to "approach the Communist International with proposals for an honest non-aggression pact, at least for all fascist countries." In Detroit the American Socialist party made a weak, but nevertheless clearly discernible, "New Beginning." In Belgium, France and even in Great Britain the Social Democracy is seeking its enemies on the right and turning to the left—gropingly as yet, and with much timid hesitation, but with every indication of having made a start in the right direction.

To the working-class world, weary of its own mistakes and shortcomings, there is a powerful appeal in the thought of a "New Beginning." Unfortunately the name of the Social Democracy is so inseparably connected with its reformist, anti-revolutionary past, that any new movement sailing under its flag is handicapped with an unbearable burden. I doubt that the undeniable advantage of a ready made, even if badly shattered, organization will offset the resentment, the prejudice and the distrust to which it will fall heir.

LUDWIG LORE.

To the Museums

Come to the museums, workers; and under every landscape
paste this label: "Workers! Is the earth as beautiful where
you live?
you on the poverty farms, boarded to hogs,
your sore fields scratched to the stone by the chickens?
You in the slums who can span between two fingers
all you can have of the free horizon; who must lean,
somehow, over a tenement's shoulder to see the sun?
This is your homestead, farmer. Worker, this is your
summer place.
It has been kept beautiful by your labor. Enjoy its grace."

Come to the museums, workers; under each gleaming nude
paste this label: "This is the working woman, this is her
worker's body
undeformed—by anxiety uneaten, undisordered by too many
births,
the flesh unbloated by the puffing food
of eight-cent diets; her smile is a discharge of health;
it spreads comfort upon us, calms us within a laughing peace.
Gracious she is in native dignity, at last untied
out of the cringe of poverty, straightened to full stature,
pride
in the workers' world."

Come to the museums. On all the gates, the pillars, put up
posters:
"Workers enter here. Claim what is stored here. It is
yours.
Labor of artists; for the mind must be worked before it
yields,
plowed, hoed, watered and weeded, till the ripened vision
is plucked by the acting hand; and for what use?
Not to be wiped on aching eyes; not to be draped
a shroud of dreams upon a stillborn day!
but plans to be enacted; visions to be made real
within the workers' world."

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

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A Letter from Minnesota

WITH THE proclamation of martial law last week in the Minneapolis truck drivers' strike, a situation unprecedented in American politics has arisen. Floyd B. Olson, Farmer-Labor Governor of Minnesota and the only radical to occupy high executive office in America, is under a withering fire from both capital and labor. Employers, declaring that business is coming to a complete standstill as a result of martial law, demand that he use the National Guard to allow free movement of trucks. Strike leaders insist that the troops be withdrawn and that the workers be allowed to picket in their own way. Finally the martial law itself is threatened, workers assemble to protest, and the headquarters of the union are temporarily seized by the Guard. Everywhere the questions are being asked: What is the Governor's role? How far does he plan to carry his restriction of transportation? And how does the Farmer-Labor party, both state and national, intend to deal with such situations—situations that are bound to recur—before it is given an opportunity to put its national program into effect?

First, a word about the development of the party in Minnesota. It must be borne in mind that the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota is not only the one third party in the country that politically controls a state; it is the only radical party so far that has elected a Governor. However one may dispute its practices, its philosophy is radical. The platform of the Farmer-Labor Association calls for nationalization of banking, government monopoly of money and credit, government ownership and control of all monopolistic industries, including factories. This program was adopted by the rank and file of the Farmer-Labor Association, with some 70,000 dues-paying members; its candidates for office, whether they like the program or not, do and have run on it.

Governor Olson *does* like it. At the Farmer-Labor convention he said, "I am a radical, not a liberal." He is a former stevedore and I.W.W., a different type of man from Senator Henrik Shipstead, mild Farmer-Laborite, who was almost rejected by the Association because of his conservatism. In his speeches the Governor denounces "a civilization which produces such an abundance on the one hand and such want and distress on the other and whose only solution for that situation is to restrict production." Physically, he is a man of colossal build. In character, he is a champion to some, a demagogue to others, a dangerous "Red" to the employers.

It was while talking to him in his office on the afternoon of Friday, July 20, that I had my first intimation of the seriousness of the truckers' strike. I had been in St. Paul only a few hours; the local papers were so busy playing up the San Francisco Red scare that they seemed almost to have forgotten the strike across the river. Suddenly the telephone rang and I heard the Governor say, "You say that *ten* policemen have been shot by the strikers? I don't believe it!"

I didn't either. Out on the streets the extras were already being peddled. The number of policemen killed had dropped to two. I drove over to strike headquarters in Minneapolis, determined to find out what really had happened, and found that some forty-eight unarmed workers had been wounded by the shotguns of the police in an unprovoked attack, one fatally.

An Inside Story.—Local 574 of the International Union of Truckers and Teamsters first went out on strike in May. Ignored by Tobin, its International President, it had succeeded in organizing some 7,000 workers, most of them "inside men," with whom the A. F. of L. officialdom will have nothing to do. They demanded the recognition that the N.R.A. is supposed to guarantee and equal wages for these "insiders." It was in this first strike that Olson, apparently to the surprise of the bosses, threatened to use the National Guard and tie up transportation. The employers, alarmed at the possibility of this unprecedented role of state forces, then demanded their withdrawal. And it was at this time, and under this pressure, that mediation terms were agreed upon.

When the employers violated their agreement in regard to the "insiders," the second strike was called. Tobin had been among the first to raise the Red scare because there were five Communist League members among the strike committee of twelve. The cry was now taken up with redoubled vigor by the bosses and the Citizens' Alliance, and countless attempts were made to discredit the union. I talked to the non-communist leaders as well as to many rank-and-file members and nowhere could I find a single note of disharmony. As one worker put it: "Communists? Say, it's all this committee can do to hold the rank and file back from going out on the streets and beating up every cop in the city!"

The only thing approaching a lack of unity in the union was the difference of opinion that seemed to exist concerning the role of the Governor. The Communist leaders, of course, took the position that a Governor must of necessity be conspiring with the employers for the defeat of the strike. As far as precedent goes, they were certainly right. But the majority of the workers felt that Olson was their friend and would come to their assistance

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sooner or later. Just how was another question. That troops, when they tie up transportation, are acting as pickets, is something most of them could not see. They were content to have the troops withheld and to fight it out with the police, which of course (despite contradictory reports) was exactly what the employers were praying for, if they could not have actual intervention on their side—something they had little hope of obtaining.

A Governor Between Two Fires.—If any Governor was ever in a jam, that Governor is Floyd B. Olson today. I can understand now why certain radicals have recently refused to run for executive office. What chance has any radical alone in executive office when the press is still able to convince the majority of the people that his prime duty is to "preserve law and order"? I am convinced from talking to Olson that he would like to use the troops in the defense of labor's rights. That he can, or will, is another question. Furthermore, it must be remembered that Farmer-Laborism is not Marxism: Olson is primarily interested in seeing the Minnesota program partly put into effect by the states and eventually established as a whole by the nation—not in an insurrection and dictatorship of industrial workers.

In this particular instance there are a number of factors that enter into the Governor's apparent indecision. The Citizens' Alliance is not one of them. The Governor had the most complete scorn for these "soft sisters" who "heroically" wore polo helmets and shin guards in attempting to break the first strike. He told me that far from being brave enough to fight, most of them fled at the first shock and barricaded themselves in nearby hotel washrooms. "If these people," he added, "try to constitute themselves authorities as they did in San Francisco, I'll run them out of the state. There's nothing I hate worse than a self-constituted policeman." The fact that the National Guard sacked the Citizens' Alliance headquarters on August 3 and confiscated their documents proves that these were not idle words.

What then were the factors that made it so difficult for Olson to act decisively (allowing for the sake of argument that he would go the whole way in defense of labor)? The first reason was that Olson and the Farmer-Labor party were not so firmly entrenched as their enemies would like people to believe. The capitalist press of Minnesota—and that means all the papers of the state outside the bi-monthly Farmer-Labor Leader—was dead against him. Farley and the Democratic party were waiting for an opportunity to denounce him before the nation as an irresponsible demagogue. It was rumored that Representative Hoidale, who was slated to run against Shipstead for the Senate, would be switched into the gubernatorial campaign as a fusion candidate. The second factor, perhaps the most unfortunate one, was that Olson faced just as implacable opposition from the Communists as from the employers. He knew that whatever he did, he would be denounced by both. Many workers with whom I talked were hot in their contention that Olson must keep the troops out of the city. That troops can act as pickets, they could not see. And remember that before everything, Olson must count on the whole-hearted political support of labor.

Last week, with the threat of martial law a fact, the situation was just as confused as ever. Wholesale houses report full warehouses and are absolutely unable to move their stock. Hotels are rapidly running out of supplies. Bank clearings have dropped a million dollars. Meat markets are closed. And still the strike leaders are demanding that the troops be withdrawn; still, in the face of the obvious facts, they denounce the Governor as a strikebreaker.

As late as July 29 the employers were charging Olson with violating his oath of office "by using the troops to restrict traffic." And at the same time the resignation of Brigadier General Frank Reed, commanding the troops at the Fair Grounds, was forced because he demanded that the guards be used to convoy all trucks. Olson has made it plain that such convoying would amount to strikebreaking and that he would not be a party to it. It was because the Governor heard that the employers were about to go on the air charging the workers with concealing arms, that the headquarters of the Central Labor Union were raided. Not a file was disturbed and those who were seized were immediately released. It was by no means the technique of the standard anti-labor raid.

Today, with the National Guard patrolling the streets of Minneapolis, we have a rough indication of the dilemma that any national third-party movement will have to face. The Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota knows that its program of public ownership can only be put into effect on a national scale. It also knows—that is, those of its leaders who are realists know—that force cannot be used in curbing and eventually supplanting capitalism until at least some states with their armed forces are in the control of Farmer-Labor governors.

Radicals in Conference.—It was fresh from the visualization of this local dilemma that I attended the Northwestern regional conference of the National Farmer Labor Political Federation at Medicine Lake outside of Minneapolis.

This conference of some thirty-five leaders of farm and labor organizations had been called by Howard Y. Williams, the national organizer of the Federation, for two purposes: (a), to give impetus to the movement in those states where Farmer-Labor parties had not already been established and, (b), to bring about greater coöperation between the existing state parties and the "mother" party in Minnesota. There has been some feeling in neighboring states that the Minnesota party, being the first, has become provincial, tied itself essen-

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tially to local causes and lost its original interest in the national movement.

Among the important figures at the conference were former Congressman Thomas R. Amlie of Wisconsin, national chairman of the Federation; former Mayor Anderson of Minneapolis; C. C. Talbot, president of the Farmers' Union of North Dakota; Alexander Howatt, former president of the United Mine Workers of Kansas; Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota; and Judge John F. Wirds and C. C. Alderdyce, representing Farmer-Labor parties of Iowa and Michigan respectively. During the first day of the conference the delegates spoke freely and at some length of the local situation in their states. On the final day they argued upon a series of recommendations to be presented to the national committee of the Farmer Labor Political Federation.

The situation in North Dakota was at once the most spectacular and the most discouraging. The Non-Partisan League, for years the leading radical movement in the Northwest, has been split wide open by the controversy over the conviction of Governor Langer. I gather, simply as a personal impression, that Langer, regardless of whether he used federal relief funds to subsidize his paper, is simply a none-too-scrupulous politician. Most of the delegates from North Dakota felt that although he was now a martyr, he would not be, once his paper lost its influence because of lack of subsidy. Ole Olson, his successor, was described by Senator Nye as a man of great integrity who had already partly succeeded in winning the confidence of a confused people. The Langer opposition, headed by Olson and State Treasurer Alfred Dale, strongly supports the national Farmer-Labor movement.

In Wisconsin, the third party is, of course, the Progressive party. Since the La Follettes, when the party was launched in June at Fond du Lac, were unwilling to oppose the "old guard," to adopt a statement of principles or to use the name Farmer-Labor, a bold step was taken by left-wing leaders a few weeks later. At a second conference the farmer and labor delegates, under the leadership of Amlie, formed the Farmer-Labor and Progressive League, an organization with a platform almost identical with that of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party. It functions as a membership organization within the Progressive party and seems likely to drive the Progressives to the left. Phil La Follette, himself a genuine radical, appears to be held back only by the election campaign of his more conservative brother.

Henry Ohl, president of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, is known to favor a Farmer-Labor movement. At the state labor convention two weeks ago, Republicans and Democrats were denounced, Progressives and Socialists more mildly censured, but "independent political action along farmer-labor lines" was strongly recommended. Although Amlie is the acknowledged radical leader among the Progressives, it has been rumored that he will not run for Governor so long as Phil La Follette or someone equally strong heads the Progressive ticket.

Fire Spreads Over the Prairies.—In Kansas, the growth of extremely militant independent unemployed councils was reported. As one delegate put it: "These unemployed men and miners will not be satisfied with anything less than a Farmer-Labor party with a platform at least as radical as that adopted in Minnesota. At present they're on the fence, but you can't sit there long when your navel begins to scrape against your spinal column."

There were favorable reports of the growth of the Farmer-Labor parties in Michigan, South Dakota and Iowa. Particularly in the last two a terrific struggle has been going on to purge the ranks of the green-backism heritage of both distant and recent past. Yet from almost every state came reports of factional disputes and energy dissipated over the cheap-money issue.

All in all, the prairie radical is a very different animal from the eastern brand. You could not call many of these men "intellectuals" and yet they do their own independent thinking and are open to rational argument if approached on their own ground and spoken to in their own language. If anybody should take the floor at an eastern convention and proclaim that government ownership is fascism, he would either be laughed out of the room or hit over the head with a piece of lead pipe. But not here. A few words of homely explanation convince the delegate that he is wrong.

This conference came to an end with a series of recommendations urging that every party or state association immediately affiliate itself with the National Federation, and that for its part the Federation send speakers or organizers into the key Midwestern states whenever needed. It was also urged that the Federation call a convention to launch the national Farmer-Labor party as soon after the fall primaries as would seem feasible.

The caliber of the men who attended this small conference in Minnesota convinced me that the next important political development is a great farmer-labor movement. Whether one likes it or not, this seems to be the trend, although to outward appearance the launching of the party seems to be like seven virgins trying to give birth to a child. Yet a unified, dramatic move now would be premature. State parties are under way in only five states and the great labor unions are only "endorsing the idea."

But though the movement has its many and great dangers, it has its promise. It may be captured by some demagogue or money crank and become the tool of fascism. On the other hand there are those who believe that only a farmer-labor party can absorb and clarify America's aimless discontent and present a broad fighting front to the forces of reaction and decay.

Minneapolis. SELDEN RODMAN.

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Bootlegged Automobiles

ALTHOUGH by no means recovered from the last great war against bootleggers, this country is already involved in a new and desperate struggle of the same kind. This time the bootlegger is not the product of social reform. He is the child of business, the step-child of the New Deal and the unavoidable by-product of the N.R.A.'s attempt to fix competitive prices.

Bootlegging of the 1934 model exists in many businesses but probably in none of them is it more universal or more flagrant than in the retail automobile trade. And probably in no other locality are the illicit operations so extensive as in metropolitan New York. There we can witness the development of the inevitable army of spies and snoopers, appropriation of large funds for enforcement of the motor code, intimidation of the public, jamming of the courts, employment of high-powered legal talent and, finally, creation of an elaborate and expensive "system" for eliminating violations. It is all designed to stop chiseling, that is, price cutting, and to establish fair trade practices in the business. But it is also disturbingly like the machinery and the methods of prohibition enforcement and is distinctly without public sympathy. Its unpopularity, however, is no deterrent to the militant majority of dealers represented in the National Automobile Dealers' Association, who seem intent on retaining the price-fixing code, "in spite of hell."

Bootlegging takes many forms, some ingenious, others merely routine. Discounts up to 10 and even 15 percent are given, depending on the original price and the pressure of competition. The code provides that the full list price shall be charged and that all used cars taken in trade shall be accepted only at a specified price. Dealers make over-allowances by juggling their accounts in such a way that code investigators have difficulty getting at the facts. Sometimes cash is returned to the customer after the deal is completed, sometimes the dealer extends credit. Often a purely non-existent "credit" is transferred to the buyer's name. In other cases a used car, already the property of the dealer, is given to the buyer to turn back to the dealer in the purchase of a new car. Such a battered old stooge may be turned in ten times a month by new buyers.

Investigators for the code authority make frequent inspections of dealers' books and files and find many of these violations. Fines are assessed by the authority up to $500, and most of them are paid without dissent. Other cases go to court, where the tendency is to uphold the code. But neither assessments nor fines suffice to deter violators. One man is said to have made ten illegal deals on the day he returned from an adverse court hearing.

Reminiscent of prohibition is the frankness with which certain violators thumb their noses at the law. Like their liquor forefathers, they go out for volume, regardless of risk of arrest. Some of them operate in dingy showrooms, inaccessible and cheap. Others use desk space and telephone. Advertising is by word of mouth and the customers bring others in a "tell-them-you-know-Bill" spirit, another gift of the golden days of speakeasies and poison liquor.

Among the more astute bootleggers, the code is recognized as a blessing. In the old days before the code the curbstoners faced stiff competition from regular dealers who could and would overbid on used cars. Now the code book sets the price. Bootleggers get sales by going just a few dollars over the book.

The bootlegger's difficulty is that so many dealers are violating the code that it becomes necessary for him to give increasingly bigger concessions. It is not uncommon for bootleggers to call on or write to the code authority in violent protest against their fellow violators. Two such operators in the Coney Island section are engaged in a warfare so ruthless that the buyers get cars for only a few dollars above the price the dealers pay.

The code authority is still unable to convict either of these violators. Customers who benefit by the reductions will not give testimony against their benefactors. Undercover men and women employed by the code people have been unable (in the language of prohibition) "to make a buy." Until a deal can be successfully "planted" on one of these operators, or unless a purchaser can somehow be induced to divulge positive evidence, the price-cutting war will continue. So-called legitimate dealers will either stand by and see their own business crumble, or will practise in secret the violations others commit in the open—or almost in the open.

Will the price-fixing provisions of this and other codes be preserved? A few days ago, it was announced in Washington that the full retail price need no longer be maintained on automobiles sold to the government or any of its subdivisions—states, counties, cities, etc.—whether by factories or by dealers. Since similar action has been taken with several other commodities, Washington observers interpret it as an indication that price fixing is probably on its way out. There is, of course, no official admission that this is the case: the government insists the only price cutting it seeks to curb is "loss leader" activity, indulged in temporarily to attract customers. But it seems obvious that the public will rise up and protest if the individual must pay the full retail price for a car, while he knows that his city, county, state or federal government enjoys substantial discounts irrespective of the size of the purchase.

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In the meantime, the efforts to enforce the code in New York continue apace. The various code authorities seem to be gaining in power and only recently the attorney for the New York group was made a special United States district attorney in charge of prosecution. Strong assurances from Washington give impetus to the campaign against violators and new court rulings in New York and elsewhere add substance to the law. Investigators, snoopers, spies and undercover workers grow more active. There are probably no more than 900 dealers in the New York territory but nearly 2,000 cases against alleged transgressors are on file in the office of the local code authority.

J. G. Roberts, deputy administrator at Washington for the Automotive Industries Code, said in a recent address in Atlantic City that the code is here to remain. He dispelled any notion that this or any other major code is likely to be abandoned.

In the same speech he touched upon a vital issue between dealers and manufacturers. He declared that the blame for non-enforcement rests with the manufacturer. For many weeks dealers have been complaining to code-enforcement bodies about the failure of the factories to coöperate. Automobile makers apparently want volume rather than strict maintenance of prices, and they encourage the men in the field who sell the most cars, regardless of the methods used. The intense competition in the industry may make this policy necessary. But this is hard to believe in view of the long efforts of the principal companies to uphold their price structures and protect their dealers. Nevertheless the dealers' complaints of non-coöperation pour in.

The operations of so-called discount houses are cited as evidence of factory indifference. One of these houses sells two or three percent of all the cars sold in the metropolitan area. Its sales were two percent last year and are variously estimated now as having increased to two and one-half or three, perhaps more. This dealer uses a small office, possesses a list of 30,000 customers, including wealthy men and high government officials (he says), and delivers every make of car, at a discount of at least 10 percent. To make matters worse for the regular dealers, the discount houses operate in apparent disregard of the code. Some of them advertise in newspapers and through the mails, announcing their reductions in unmistakable language.

Recently several convictions were obtained by the code authority in New York. One of the most defiant of the defendants got a three months' jail term. The only noticeable effect of these convictions has been to make all violations of the code more surreptitious than before. Another effect has been to concentrate public attention on the defendants, thus increasing their sales.

Meanwhile chaos envelops the automobile trade. Huge expenditures are made to enforce the code and these sums are finally paid by the consumer. Cut-rate operators offer bargains that, quite naturally, often turn out to be swindles. Dealers who sell today at the fixed price, sell tomorrow at a cut price. And the confusion seems to be getting worse.

Through it all, the business of enforcing the code goes on after a fashion. Price-fixing at best is of dubious social value and certainly is dangerous politically. Granting that it may have virtuous origins, it still does not operate in the way that was intended.

FLOYD LA ROUCHE.

Adult Education: A Fresh Start

Progress Report on the San Francisco School of Social Studies

THE TIME has come for the establishing of a new branch of public education in America. It is no longer enough that we teach children. It is not enough that we lead many of our young people through high school and a few of them through college. Every day makes it clearer that the amount of learning, and the kind of learning, that an American needs for proper living cannot be won in the years before twenty-one. Our scheme of government and of life can succeed only if, in their more mature years, men and women will engage in careful, enthusiastic and guided study of common values, common dangers, common opportunities. In a word, we must have a comprehensive scheme of adult education.

The end to be served by this new teaching will not be vocational. We Americans are already well able to train ourselves for jobs. There is no need for a fresh start along that line. On the other hand, the purpose is very badly described as that of "fitting people for the new leisure." That notion has in it too much of individual irresponsibility, too much of mere escape from obligations—from significant loyalties and endeavors—to serve as a basis for a national movement in popular teaching. The primary aim of adult education goes far deeper than either of these relatively superficial glimpses of its meaning. That aim is the creation of an active and enlightened public mind. The deepest question in American life today is not economic or political; it is educational. It is the question of the thinking power of a democracy. Can our people understand and direct their own living or must someone else do their thinking, make their decisions, for them? As a democracy we are pledged to try the first of these two programs. And to make that

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attempt successful is the aim of adult education. At this point we do need a fresh start.

It should be noted in passing that the program here suggested is not that of the indoctrination of Americanism. We need the practice of democracy rather than the preaching of it. And the practice of democracy in teaching is one of "free inquiry." It seeks to create and develop the will and the capacity for independent judgment. It regards its own beliefs as open to study, to criticism, to revision. To fall short of such self-criticism is to betray the deepest principles of our American life. There is among us no treason so black as that which would, by methods of insinuation or of violence, "impose" democratic principles, keep them safe from hostile opinions. We cannot teach democracy unless we trust it in action, practise it in our teaching.

It need hardly be said that the task of creating a national system of adult education is a very difficult one. In terms of quantity, the difficulties are obvious enough. Into the field in which newspapers, churches, libraries, theatres, lecture platforms, books and magazines, art museums, radio centers, concert halls, are already at work, teachers must go. And they must go in sufficient numbers and with sufficient clarity of purpose to criticize and modify these other agencies as well as to coöperate with them. Theirs will be the primary responsibility for making vivid and attractive the studying activity in which every good American should be engaged. To do that will be, in sheer quantity, an enormous undertaking.

But the qualitative difficulties are even greater. How shall a people that has not built up the habits of study be led into the forming of those habits? Who shall be the teachers? What "materials" shall be used? What "methods" shall be followed? Here is a teaching problem as difficult as it is important. A democracy must arouse and sustain the creative intelligence upon the postulating of which its whole scheme of government and of living rests, with whose success or failure its own existence stands or falls. How shall it be done?

As we face so overwhelming a task we may find some encouragement in the success of like ventures in at least two other countries. In Denmark, we are told, the Folk Schools have had a powerful influence in making for that country a mind of its own. They have brought many people together into the sense of common interests, common conditions, a common destiny to be studied and so mastered. And, in a more limited range, democratic living has, in like manner, been created by the tutorial classes of England. In those classes "intellectuals" and "workers" have helped each other. Their teaching influence has gone through and through the working class of an industrial society and has, perhaps more than any other single factor, raised it up into self-conscious, intelligent participation in English life and English administration. At both these points in the struggle for democracy, adult education has won outstanding victories. They tell us that our own task, difficult though it is, is not an impossible one.

In America, many adult teaching agencies have been, for longer or shorter times, at work. Lyceums, chautauquas, evening schools, extension classes, correspondence courses, public libraries, have established themselves among us. And recently, chiefly through private initiative, there has sprung up a great variety of teaching enterprises. But the most striking feature of these activities, when taken as a group, is their planlessness. In them, our teaching policy has risen very little above the level of giving to each student such subjects as will appeal to his own immediate personal interest.

It is true that such organizations as the American Association for Adult Education and the Workers' Education Bureau have given valuable assistance and suggestion. Powerful minds, such as those of Hart and Lindeman, have struggled for coherence. And yet the fact remains that our adult teaching is a vast conglomeration of classes in labor tactics, typewriting, history, dancing, economics, painting, etc., which are bound together by no dominating ideas or purposes. And the time has now come when such "elective" incoherence simply will not do. We Americans have a very definite piece of adult teaching to do. We have common problems which must be thought about. Unless we can be aroused out of our distractions, out of our ignorance, into the attempt at understanding, our venture in democracy must come to a speedy and disastrous end. Can we do what needs to be done? Can we train ourselves to think about our problems? Can we create and sustain a national system of adult education?

It is a commonplace of educational theory that teaching method must vary with the nature of the human purpose that is sought and with the conditions that, from within and from without, are playing upon the minds of the pupils. Just as Denmark found her way of teaching and England her own quite different procedure, so we must find ours, one to fit ourselves and our intentions. It is the purpose of this paper to suggest that we are now beginning to see what, in its essentials, the American method may be.

Ten years ago the American Library Association appointed a commission to investigate how our popular reading might, by proper guidance, be made more serious and valuable. The same motive found expression in the "Great Books" course at Columbia and again in the similar venture carried on at Chicago by President Hutchins and Professor Adler. It was the dominating idea in the course of study of the Experimental College at Wisconsin. Basic to all these enterprises was a principle which, though constantly ignored, is as old as teaching itself. It seems to me to be the soundest idea that we can find for use in the field of Adult Education in America, *viz.*, that the best external help in learning to think about human problems is to get into living contact with the ablest men who have thought

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about these problems. One learns to play well by playing with the best players. Americans would learn to study if they would read properly the great books.

During the past academic year, the San Francisco School of Social Studies has been trying to plan and conduct a scheme of teaching on the basis of this principle. A small faculty of college rank has been conducting twenty classes with about three hundred pupils. As the outcome of their experiences a fairly definite scheme begins to emerge.

The first task of the teachers has been that of selecting the books in which the best minds of our civilization have expressed themselves upon our common problems in ways suitable for popular reading. In the nature of the case, most of our technical, scholarly books will not serve the purpose. But the "Dialogues" of Plato, the Bible, the Constitution, the writings of Emerson, Whitman, Adam Smith, Karl Marx, Emily Dickinson, Dreiser, Jeffers, Dewey, Veblen, Tawney, Brandeis, Turner, Beard, Lenin, Bourne, Mumford, Dos Passos, these and a host of others in poetry and prose, tell us of the attempts of our intellectual leaders to solve the human problems that we in America now face. Out of these a course of study may be made.

The second task of the faculty has been to furnish guidance in the study of the books selected. To this end groups have been formed with six and fifteen as the lower and upper limits of membership. At weekly meetings the books have been discussed chapter by chapter, all the members being pledged to careful reading of the assignment in advance. The reading time of a single book has ranged from five or six to twelve weeks.

In the guiding of the discussion, the teachers have tried to avoid two opposing evils. On the one hand, they have not "lectured," have not undertaken to explain the books, to tell the pupils what they mean. Lecturing, here as elsewhere, would invite the student to passivity rather than to activity; it would inform or excite or stimulate or amuse rather than challenge to the enterprise of independent reading and judgment. The purpose is to develop in the student the power to do his own reading and to discuss it with his friends. On the other hand we have not been willing to devote the meetings to mere "discussion." To do that, to encourage people to strive for victory with respect to opinions they have not really tried to verify or understand, is to help in the fixing of prejudices rather than to train the capacity for thinking. It is true that the books are read for the sake of the ideas they advance and that the reading is justified only as it leads the reader to better thinking, to better ideas of his own. But the first step in that process is an honest, painstaking attempt to understand what an idea means when presented by another mind—in this case, by a mind far superior to one's own. In the field of study, independence is essential. But, in the proper uses of the terms, honesty, humility and accuracy are essential as well.

With respect to more external arrangements the attempt has been made to construct the simplest possible scheme, with a minimum of overhead both in expense and in administration. No fees have been charged, the expenses being met by the subscriptions of a group of private citizens. No credits have been required for admission and no credits given at the end of the course. Student groups have been formed in two ways. First, existing organizations in the city, such as labor unions, churches, teachers' associations, women's clubs, political organizations, have been invited to form groups from their own membership. Second, individuals applying at the school office have been formed into groups by the teachers. The groups have varied much with respect to homogeneity and the effects of this difference are being carefully watched by the teachers. The student age has ranged from eighteen to sixty-five. Practically every type of occupation has been represented and every type of political and social attitude. Previous education has ranged from grammar school to professional and graduate university training. For the most part, meetings have been held in rooms furnished by the students or by their organizations. Attendance has been amazingly regular and the preparatory work seriously done. Twice as many students applied as could be taken by the present teaching force, and the number of applicants is constantly increasing. So far as can be judged by student activity and enthusiasm, the work of the school has fully justified itself.

One further feature of the plan remains to be mentioned. In the minds of the teachers the separate books are not regarded as separate and unrelated fields of reading. If they are to do their work they must be so related that, taken together, they give the elements of a coherent and unified study of community life as a whole. What we would like to develop in the city is the sense that there are certain central problems with which every mind should be dealing, certain leaders of intellectual activity with whom every intelligent American should have acquaintance. We need, in our American cities, what might be called a common culture of ideas, of interests, of problems, of values. We need to be brought together into unity of interest and understanding so that we may have the materials, the methods, the acquaintance with ideas that would make possible for us the experience of genuine thinking together. We are at the present time a curiously multifarious, unrelated collection of individuals who do not know each other. And we are rendered ineffectual in our common living by the lack of any common thinking. Such a school as I have been describing dreams of planting here and there throughout the city groups of persons who may begin to remedy that evil. In such a city as San Francisco there should be hundreds of such groups at work, and they should be linked together in active coöperation. In every other American

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city there should be like associations, reading the same books, thinking about the same problems, grappling with the same ideas. And to this there should be added some central organization in the different states and in the nation as a whole which would keep the separate activities in acquaintance with one another, would unite them in generous cooperation. If that could be brought about it would do for us what the folk schools have done for Denmark, what the tutorial classes have done for the workers of England. It would have in it the beginnings of the making of an American mind. To say these things is of course to speak of dreams rather than of present achievements. But such dreams define the direction in which our efforts may go. As such they may be of value in the planning and creating of a democratic America.

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN.

San Francisco.

Washington Notes

The A.A.A. Goes to War—Drought's Far-Flung Battle—Lacking Coöperation—Profits Are Sweeter Than Rain

WITH THE drought, the Department of Agriculture has taken on much the atmosphere of a military G.H.Q. You find men bending over long tables on which are spread maps with little multi-colored flags denoting, not enemy divisions, but burned-up pasturage and starving cattle. Terse, soldierly communiqués tell you that in Nebraska so-and-so many counties have just had local thundershowers; that in the last twenty-four hours so-and-so many thousand cattle have been slaughtered; that conditions in the drought area as a whole are now such-and-such percent of normal compared with the same day last week. You learn that the country's hay fields, clear east to the Atlantic seaboard, are being surveyed, and what are the exact reserves of seed supply and cattle herds.

This is a very ancient fight that Secretary Wallace is waging. The search for grass and water in times of drought is at least as old and important in history as military warfare itself. Until the present disaster, its pattern has varied but little from the days of the early Israelites. There has always been the same desperate, unplanned flight away from the drought area, the same decimated herds, social loss and individual ruin. The Department of Agriculture is now trying to apply modern technique to this ancient situation.

At least in theory, all herds in the drought districts are being inspected by Department agents with an eye solely to the national interest. Blooded cattle needed for the nation's breeding stock are being bundled into specially chartered freight trains and sent rolling off to the still untouched pastures of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Alabama. About one hundred thousand such cattle have already been shipped, and another hundred thousand will follow. With foundation stock thus provided for, the other cattle are being separated into those fit for human food, and those that aren't. Cattle of the first group go to be processed; those too poor to make processing worth while or for which no processing facilities are available, are being destroyed on their owners' farms.

During the last eight weeks, the number of government-owned cattle processed daily has been stepped up from 58,000 to 110,000. The Department has bought almost two million cattle, and it plans to buy at least four million in all, perhaps seven million. In coöperation with the F.E.R.A., Department agents are searching the country to find out how and where this colossal mountain of meat can be stored. What is the utmost capacity of the nation's commercial refrigerators? Since meat that can't be held in refrigerators must be canned, what is the maximum load that can be placed on meat-canning factories? Will it be possible to adapt vegetable and fruit canneries, during the emergency, to meat canning?

Planning on a similarly gigantic scale is going forward to economize pasturage and fodder. If, after the first of September, fields in the drought area are planted in small grains, they can be made to yield pasturage sometime in October, and again in the early spring. What should be planted, the hairy vetch (beans to you city fellers), or winter peas or Italian ryegrass? Then, too, in the East are thousands of abandoned farms on which the Department fears the hay will go unharvested. Why can't relief workers cut, dry and bale this hay to help carry the nation's cattle through the winter, and can the F.E.R.A. arrange to have this done?

You find that drought planning runs off into infinite and often bizarre ramifications. For example, many farmers whose pastures have been burned bare have taken to driving their herds along the public roads, letting the animals graze wherever a patch of green shows itself. However, it appears that in time of drought certain roadside weeds, among them Johnson grass, Sudan grass and arrowgrass, may undergo chemical changes that cause them to yield pure prussic acid. Cattle eating them die swiftly and horribly. How can farmers be forewarned?

But before I call for a cheer for Secretary Wallace and his fellow planners, I feel I ought to make a number of reservations. According to all reports, the planning here in Washington has been infinitely better than the execution of the plans in the actual drought districts. In a country as vast as the United States, centralized control from Washington probably will always be less than 100-percent efficient. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the A.A.A. refuses to make any attempt towards building a coherent field force of its own, and instilling it with an *esprit de corps*. I imagine that Mr. Wallace fears he might be accused of fascist leanings, and that such a specially created force would be called Henry's *Schutz Staffel*. It is curious that we pride ourselves on our industrial prowess, and almost universally feel that efficiency in government is insidiously un-American.

The greatest weakness in the Department's drought planning, however, is that, ever since the row over the packers' code last December, it has had no jurisdiction over food distribution. The Department has felt compelled to explain repeatedly that its drought activities would not affect private business. It has bought its cattle at shamefully low prices, and thus permitted the packers to offer the

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farmers prices that were equally low and shameful. Next winter and spring, the present glut of meat will be succeeded by relative scarcity, and presumably the packers will seize the chance to boost prices to the consumer to stratospheric heights. Although this possibility has been foreseen by the Department, it will use none of the government's meat to prevent price banditry by the packers; it has, in fact, already pledged itself that government-owned meat will be kept out of commercial channels, and distributed only through the F.E.R.A.

Another serious weakness in the Department's planning is its inability to enforce coöperation, when necessary, from individual farmers. An example of how fatal a handicap this is to thorough-going planning is the South's present reluctance to raise emergency crops of fodder. For many years, the South—especially the cotton states—has been accustomed to import its fodder from the rest of the country. Because of the drought, there is now an acute national shortage of fodder, and the Department is frantically urging the South to raise not merely enough for its own needs, but a surplus that can be exported to the Middle West. This appeal met with scant response, and the Department fears that perhaps thousands of animals that would otherwise remain part of our national wealth must eventually be destroyed. The Southern planter isn't interested. He anticipates good prices for his cotton; the raising of a late crop of fodder in a year when beef and hog prices are low seems to him a great deal of bother for insufficient cash profits.

Here in Washington there is no way to judge the strength and currency among farmers of the belief that the drought has been the visible sign of God's displeasure with Secretary Wallace for his pig-killing campaign last autumn. I can only report that officials here have been made distinctly uneasy by it. A proof of their anxiety is the stream of detailed news reports that have been issued by the Department of Agriculture on the progress of the drought in Canada, Germany, Poland, Russia and China. The idea seems to be to show the farmers that the drought couldn't have been God's rebuke to Mr. Wallace, or else God would have confined it strictly to American territory.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Putting a Subway Through the Securities Laws—Operations per Schedule—It's All in the Listing

THE Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Corporation issued recently $8,000,000 of bonds. It did not register those bonds with the Federal Trade Commission. The issuers and underwriting bankers did not wish to register such bonds. Had they done so they would have been compelled to file with the Federal Trade Commission an immense amount of data about the B.M.T. which, presumably, they did not wish to make public. Moreover, had the security been registered, that very fact, in the event of loss to investors, would have subjected the issuer and the underwriters to the possibility of certain civil and criminal liabilities. That these gentlemen wish to evade.

They did not register the issue because, as they announced, they did not intend to offer the bonds for sale in interstate commerce, but to limit their offerings to New York State. Furthermore, they planned to publish no prospectus or advertising matter of any kind but merely to offer the issue orally. This was hailed at the time as one way in which to evade the provisions of the Securities Act.

Now, however, the B.M.T. has applied to have this issue of bonds admitted to listing on the New York Stock Exchange. This would give the persons who bought the bonds a mechanism for disposing of them through sales on the Exchange and in interstate commerce. It will be seen what an opportunity for evasion this offers. The underwriter does not wish to register his proposed issue with the Securities and Exchange Commission. He therefore offers the issue orally and within the limits of a single state—New York. Insurance companies, trust companies, banks, investment trusts, large financiers and others, friendly to the underwriters or controlled by them, are willing to purchase the securities through an oral, intrastate offering. The bonds now having been "distributed" without the necessity of registration, the owners of the bonds will have a right to sell them in the ordinary course of trade. The Stock Exchange will have the right to admit them to registry and the owners may then sell them on the Exchange without fear of interference.

The New York Stock Exchange has admitted the issue to registry. In doing so it gives us evidence of an attitude no one need have doubted. We have heard much about how it had become chastened and repentant and how it would coöperate to the limit with the new commission to make the law effective. At the first opportunity the Exchange puts its facilities at the unrestrained disposal of those who seek to evade the law and collaborates with them in the evasion. The new Securities and Exchange Commission may rest assured that this will be the attitude of that institution no matter what the assurances are.

The Securities and Exchange Commission is a little excited over the episode. It thinks that while the original sale without registry may have been legal, any attempt to make sales of these bonds through the mechanism of the Exchange will bring the sellers into collision with the law. I am afraid the S.E.C. is helpless in this case. And if it is, it confirms an observation I offered at the time this act was passed, namely that the Securities Act, while probably effective as against issuers of bonds, will prove of little value as against issuers of stocks, since stocks are seldom publicly offered. In this case the offering of the B.M.T. bonds has been made in accordance with the well known method of distributing shares, namely by private offering to a limited number of individuals—participators—and then, after listing, they are disposed of to the public through the Exchange.

Section 5 of the Act provides that, unless a security has been registered, it shall be unlawful to make use of any instrumentality of interstate commerce to "sell or offer to buy" such security "through the use or medium of any prospectus or otherwise," or to transport the security through the mails to effect delivery under such a sale, or to transmit a prospectus in interstate commerce unless it con-

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forms to the requirements of Section 10, or to attempt to deliver in interstate commerce any such security unless it is preceded by a prospectus.

This is not necessary where the issuer and the persons purchasing the issue all reside in a single state. It is clear, therefore, that the B.M.T. when it offered its bonds without prospectus and without public offering, orally and in its own state only, was not required to register the bonds. It must be equally true that any corporation that issues shares and offers them privately and in the same state without prospectus, will not be required to register the shares with the Commission. And the important point is that this is the usual method in the case of shares. This is why I warned at the outset that the Securities Act would afford very little protection to investors in shares.

Then, according to Section 4 of the Act, the bonds or shares having been sold originally without registration and then listed on the Exchange, may be sold on the floor without registry at that time. Section 4 (exempted transactions) provides that the rules about registry do not apply to transactions by any person other than an underwriter or dealer or to brokers' transactions, executed upon customers' orders.

This being so, there will be no way to protect investors in stocks unless the S.E.C. requires as a condition for admission to listing the same drastic exposure of the affairs of the corporation as is required in the case of all registered securities by the Securities Act. Unfortunately the sanctions of the Securities Act cannot be applied to the listing of stocks under the Stock Exchange Act in the same way as they are applied under the Securities Act.

However, the S.E.C., if it wishes really to collaborate with the government, can make a rule that no issue of any kind of security will be admitted to listing on any exchange unless such security has been registered with the Commission under the Securities Act of 1933.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

Publishing Preview

ANY DAY now, the postman will start lugging in the fall book catalogues. And while I suspect that neither postman nor publishers will ring the bell twice, there's still a thrill at being in first-hand touch with the big things going on in the literary world. I am an outland book reviewer and the catalogues should soon be here. I can hardly wait!

First of all, there's the fun of seeing whether there will be more books about D. H. Lawrence or by the Roosevelts on the lists. As to the Roosevelt families, private and official, the grapevine so far this year has carried us word only of F. D., Eleanor, Mrs. James D., Mrs. Dall (or isn't it?), Rex Tugwell, Sistie, Henry A. Wallace, Buzzie and John Nance Garner being hard at work on new volumes. And, oh yes, Scamper, the bunny who went to the White House, and the other Democratic Senators.

Lawrenceiana should exceed that. The 1934 census shows exactly 1,687 maiden ladies who once saw D. H. plain or whom D. H. once thought plain or something. And that means that there are a number of them still to be heard from. Are there titles enough to go around? Certainly. One publisher showed how to do it when, deciding to publish Chatterley books whatever the customs and the Customs of the country, he borrowed an idea from the sponsors of "juveniles" and broke out with "Lady Chatterley's Husband" and "Lady Chatterley's Friends." And could have gone right on with "Lady Chatterley on a Gunboat," "Lady Chatterley with the Rover Boys" and "Lady Chatterley and the A.E.F." if the intimate books about D. H. hadn't taken the play right away from him. So look for "The Lorenzo Girls in Taos," "The Lorenzo Girls in a Battle Royal," "The Lorenzo Girls as Draculas, or Digging Him Up Alive," etc.

But there will be other biographies? Of course. To begin with, the regular semiannual Abraham Lincoln, Frank Harris, John Brown and Ambrose Bierce new models. And then too, each publisher will bring out the autobiography that someone calling himself something like Sergt. Tex O'Teague has told to someone for publication under some such title as "Beef, Iron and Wine" or "The Insufferable Filibuster." One novelty there'll be on each list. Since a Morgan partner last year wrote a biography of another Morgan partner, this fall certainly will bring us: "Up from the Ministry: A Biography of Norman Thomas," by William Z. Foster; "Billy Foster, Liberty Bond Salesman," by Norman Thomas; "The Life and Times of Andy Mellon," by John D. Rockefeller as told to Henry Ford; and "Life of Edward Johnson," by the Boswell Sisters.

Naturally, there will be poetry to add class to the lists. For one thing, the volume of lyrics from the winsome miss who belongs to all the poetry societies and writes for and about little monthlies. And another collection of those rippingly cynical things on poison and petting and mistaking fly-specks for caviar from the maiden advertising executive whose best-seller of last season made literary history by setting an all-time low for craftsmanship in light verse.

And don't forget the "lusty" novels, the novels "in a new manner" by devilish young writers dashingly thumbing their noses at the reader and winning rapturous shouts of "A Sterne! A Sterne!" from publishers impressed by fourth-rate Ben Hecht jazzed up with Yorick's oddities of punctuation and typography, but otherwise resembling "Tristram Shandy" and "A Sentimental Journey" approximately as closely as Tiffany Thayer approaches François Rabelais.

With the book makers having lifted from the film manufacturers both the idea of "cycles" and the business of riding them to death, there also will be a flood of Western novels titled "—— Rides Alone" (not that the volume appears on the stalls like that; the publisher has to fill in the blank with a proper name and you can't imagine the strain on his mentality when it gets down to a case of deciding between "Laramie" and "Larabie" or "Routledge" and "Rutledge"); a torrent of overstuffed ones about four English generations; a host of horror stories as artificial as the windy impolitenesses extracted from dead asses by Queen Whim's officers; and a multitude of "hard-boiled" novelettes from the boys who have studied the back numbers of Black Mask and learned the technique of tearing right in and making Hemingway look like a Bess Streeter Aldrich.

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And since one firm assembling and distributing plain and fancy historical novels last year discovered it could pay dividends by giving the line of merchandise "Anthony Adverse," "Peter Ashley" and "Jonathan Bishop" titles, you can count on every other publisher's lashing his titling department workers in an effort to step up production of such tags to hundreds a day. Naturally, not every book hitched to such a label will be advertised as one that "may become the best loved book of our time." Some publishers will follow the daring lead of the one who broke away to bill his author as a citizen who "may become America's best loved novelist." But the titles will stick to the proper names, preferably alliterative.

As the Youngstown (O.) Vindicator said of Anthony: "Three hundred women listened to the story of 'Anthony Adverse,' by Hervey Allen, given by Mrs. Fred A. Miller for the opening of the Book Lovers' Club at the Y.W.C.A. Wednesday evening. To review a book of such proportions and adventures in two hours was a feat in itself and Mrs. Miller was highly praised."

On guard, Mrs. Miller! You have no idea of what's coming!

HOWARD WOLF.

CORRESPONDENCE

Housing Is Up to the Tenants

SIR: Now that the Housing Division of the P.W.A. has been virtually abolished and the efforts of the administration are concentrated on an attempt to revive repairs through private enterprise and the reduction of wages in the building industry, stock can be taken of the lack of accomplishment during the past year under Mr. Ickes and his OGPU, and the reasons therefor.

Confusion and suspicion were the outstanding characteristics. Confusion on the part of the higher powers as to what it was all about: emergency employment, or slum clearance, or low-cost housing; suspicion on the part of the Secretary of everything and everyone: of the limited-dividend sponsors, of the contractors, of the architects, even of their own appointees, who were mercilessly baited and spied upon by Glavis.

The result was accomplishment so sparse as to be negligible. But it is a question whether, eliminating the idiosyncrasies of Ickes, anything could have been accomplished by anyone, since the housing movement completely lacked any kind of popular support. The cold fact of the P.W.A. failure is that nobody in the United States gives a damn about housing, except a few social workers whose immaturity of point of view is only matched by their technical ignorance and their indifference to economic facts. They are worthy, high-minded people who believe in Santa Claus.

There are some nine million families in this country living in substandard homes. They are living in those homes because the wage scale does not permit them to live elsewhere, because if the wage scale did permit them they would have no other place to go for the reason that the profit element in real estate would necessarily keep rents always rising ahead of them, and because no effort has been made to solve the problem on the purely technical basis of housing's being a public utility as much as water or street-cars or the navy.

Yet it is only on the basis of a public utility that the problem can even reasonably be approached. The idea of "self-liquidation," *i.e.*, of the tenants paying for the housing, must be abandoned. Shelter must be provided at cost to those who need it—which means the government must buy the land and *write it off*—interest must be low, not over two percent probably, and construction and operation must be large scale and efficient. Wage scales must be maintained, not reduced, and unemployment insurance is a necessary corollary to assure tenure. Shelter, not slum clearance, must be the objective. If the latter comes into the program of the former, as it must eventually, well and good. But starting with it means stopping without anything, as the past has demonstrated.

None of this means anything until the degraded millions are as aware of their right to decent shelter in a decent civilization as they are to air and water. The way to housing is through the already organized unions, which for the most part form well integrated communities, which can make their wishes clear, which can enforce their demands politically, and which can operate their buildings in the interest of their own members without the intervention of the political chicanery that will inevitably grip all municipal ventures with unorganized, exploitable tenants.

Two organizations have already been making a beginning along such lines—the Labor Housing Conference in Philadelphia and the Housing Study Guild in New York, the one an association of union groups and the latter a group of technicians. It is to be hoped that the start made by them will enlist the interest of others, particularly in the smaller industrial centers where the need for housing is as great and the ability to attain it greater than in the larger cities with their slum problems and difficult complications of other kinds.

New York City. HENRY S. CHURCHILL.

Is Technocracy Utopian?

SIR: In your issue of July 18, the article "Utopia, Incorporated," written by Mr. Carey McWilliams of Los Angeles, contains several statements concerning the relationship of the Utopian Society and Technocracy, Inc., which are either totally erroneous or misleading. . . .

Technocracy, Inc., has never been in communication with the Utopian Society. We are therefore not quite clear as to whether or not the Utopian Society proposes to substitute a technological control for the present price system. If, however, they do entertain such a proposal, they are potential, and will be eventually, Technocrats. Our rules and regulations provide that no officer of Technocracy, Inc., may be a member of any other organization having political objectives or social objectives which are not clearly defined as synonymous with those of our organization.

Mr. McWilliams states that the officers of the Utopian Society have been influenced obviously by Technocracy. We have no objection to influencing the officers or members of any organization. The problem which confronts American civilization today; namely, that of mass purchasing power, is so imperative that it transcends any question of politics, race, creed or partisanship. Technocracy, Inc., feels that there can not be too many fighting the same battle, no matter what the organization is named. . . .

HOWARD SCOTT, Director,
New York City. Technocracy, Inc.

[Mr. McWilliams did not ascribe the parenthood of the Utopians to the organization, Technocracy, Inc., but to the general group of ideas going under the name of Technocracy that was a popular fad a year and a half ago.—THE EDITORS.]

SIR: In The New Republic of July 11 ["The New Economics," by George Novack], the official New York edition of "The Plan of Plenty," which has been in your possession for some time, was overlooked and reference was made to the superseded California edition.

Furthermore, our Plan was grouped with a series of books which are supposed to snarl at the prospect of socialization in the domain of production. Since the very foundation of our Plan

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is the complete socialization of the instruments of production and distribution in the domain of non-scarce goods, it would seem that your reviewer had not even troubled to read our short pamphlet.

Besides, he confused our diagnosis with the old technocratic one which points to "the disproportion in the rates of growth in debt and production." We have always considered the subject of debt irrelevant.

In other words, the mention made of "The Plan of Plenty," was completely inaccurate, and quite incorrect.

HELEN MARY GOULD,
Continental Committee on Technocracy.

New York City.

SIR: On comparison I find that the difference between the California and the New York edition of "The Plan of Plenty" is not of great importance. The chief changes consist in giving greater prominence to "The Plan of Plenty" than to Technocracy and the addition of a quotation from a speech by A. A. Berle, prominently described as "advisor to the President," containing vague references to something like the Plan, in order, I presume, to show how close it is to the mind of the President.

Only the last sentence in the first paragraph of my omnibus review directly referred to the California pamphlet. It still stands. In contrast to the monetary reformers of the Social Credit type, this particular group of Technocrats, the Continental Committee, does propose to take over all the instruments of production and distribution. They hope to accomplish this Herculean feat by strictly constitutional measures and without endangering the privileges of the propertied classes. The present owners are to be deprived only of their control over industry, not their incomes. Indeed, nothing will be taken away from the kept classes and even the poorest will have $5,000 a year. Thus these Utopians abolish "the price system" in their imaginations. To abolish it in reality it is necessary to pay the price—and the price which social progress exacts is the proletarian revolution.

GEORGE E. NOVACK.

New York City.

McFee vs. Dos Passos

SIR: John Dos Passos, in his article "Another Plea for Recognition" [in a recent issue of The New Republic], sneers at Dr. MacPhail of the Quirigua Hospital in Guatemala. It seems that Dr. MacPhail is not a Communist, so out with him. But from what I happen to know of Dr. MacPhail, the remarks attributed to him are not in character. I think he would be most unlikely to talk like that to a stranger. Mr. Dos Passos, moreover, is not a reliable reporter when he describes the Mayan ruins at Quirigua. They do not "stand grimly in line" as he says. They are dotted about. They were not "cleared of jungle a year before." They are a small park in the middle of the plantations, and are kept cleared by the company. This is a sinister plot of the capitalist company, no doubt. If they left the ruins to their fate, to be covered with new growths of tropical vegetation, that also would be a sinister capitalist plot, to the Communist.

WILLIAM MCFEE.

Westport, Conn.

SIR: My noting down part of the conversation I had with the doctor at Quirigua was not intended as a sneer at a person who has the reputation of being a very amiable gentleman and a noted physician. It seemed interesting to note how such a technician took partisanship against any movement for a reorganized society entirely for granted, and that is all. Mr. McFee's letter seems to imply a similar attitude on the part of a man who has at least one very good book to his credit. It is too bad that such people should not have enough philosophical aloofness to adopt an attitude of neutrality, since they have no real stake in the system. Mr. McFee's letter brings out a point that was perhaps insufficiently stressed in the article.

JOHN DOS PASSOS.

Provincetown, Mass.

The Place of Social Insurance

SIR: As the candidates for election in November prepare for the polls there is one vital question that they must answer; that of social insurance. Whatever their answer, Abraham Epstein's challenge that "a comprehensive program of social insurance —embracing unemployment insurance, old-age pensions or insurance, health insurance with both medical and cash benefits, and a system of family allowances which would eliminate child labor"—is one of the most vital of the issues. . . .

Social insurance has a unique position between capitalism and socialism. To call the system socialistic is to speak without thought. It is truly a step toward socialism which is necessary for the maintenance of capitalism. All of its arguments have their validity in keeping a capitalistic system in operation. No cyclical depression can be either alleviated or cured without sufficient purchasing power of the masses—here is that purchasing power. For capitalism it is a necessary concession; for socialism it is an advance for its thesis that the progress of any civilization may be determined by the degree of security it affords its members. Laissez-faire and "rugged individualism" are doomed components of capitalism; they represent a form of capitalism that cannot work and therefore cannot support the structure of the system. . . .

To inaugurate social insurance, the system must be national in scope. It cannot successfully operate in one state and not in another; nor can a group of employers hope to organize and maintain successfully so large a plan. It must be decided by Congress and must be compulsory and contributory from both worker and employer.

Tufts College, Mass. ARTHUR M. COCHRAN.

Extracts from Letters

COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE, Mena, Arkansas, is offering three $40-scholarships for the term of 1934-35 for the best essays 500 to 2,500 words in length, on the following general subjects: "The Fight Against War and Fascism," "The Farmer and the New Deal," "The Worker and the New Deal." Each scholarship will cover the tuition fee for a quarterly term of three months. The student will be given room, board and laundry service in exchange for twenty hours' work per week on the college farm-campus, in the office, library, kitchen, etc. All essays must be in the mail by September 1, 1934. They need not be typewritten. Faculty members will judge the essays on the basis of intelligence and interest rather than literary style. Contestants should be in fairly good health and under thirty-five years of age.

Ralph Borsodi announces the following series of forums to be held at the School of Living, Suffern, New York: The Bankruptcy of Specialization in Agriculture, in Industry, in Art and Science, August 12; Economic Planning: To What Extent Is It a Chimera? August 19; The Conflict between Politics and Economics: Machine Guns, Red Tape and Boycotts, August 26.

The Teachers' Anti-War Committee, through L. Cohen, chairman of its Summer Committee, writes to protest against the Ives Loyalty Oath Bill for Teachers again pending after a veto in New York State. "This bill," Mr. Cohen says, "urged at a time of growing repression in civil and labor rights throughout the world and even in many communities of the United States, constitutes an infringement of academic freedom. It can be used as a weapon of persecution of liberal or radical teachers, and as a means of discrediting, harrying or dismissing teachers who fight against wage cuts or other infringements upon the public schools. It is an entering wedge for the militarization of the schools."

Felix Morrow, secretary of the Robins-Gras Defense Committee, 22 East Seventeenth Street, New York City, writes us to appeal for funds for the legal defense of Harold Robins and André Gras, two strikers now serving sentences of from one to two years and from two to four years, respectively, for alleged assaults on strikebreakers during the hotel strike in New York City. The cases of both men, Mr. Morrow writes, bear evidence of police framing.

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Texas Lights: V

Notes on Virgil

STANDING in the arbor where the grapes need his attention, Virgil has been telling me of the automobile that he is about to buy. There are men, it seems, who keep what Virgil calls used Fords, sitting out in yards, rain or shine, a month or a year, till sold. Some have tops, some not, and the same holds as to hoods, tires and other parts. What Virgil wants, he says, is an engine that will go, and a runnin' license—otherwise he can take a car all to pieces and put it together again. He has it all figured out, can get one of these Fords for $15. He's been savin' up. The money's in a cloth in his trunk. Don' nobody know till the surprise.

This leads to a discussion of Virgil's finances and his family life. I have been brought up among colored people, and I know at least enough to know what a wall they, on their part, have always kept between us. I try hard to set down in my mind the main account that Virgil gives me. I know that a little dossier, as it were, like this, of Negro economics, family life and gentle hopes confided, has not often and will not come my way—I could not in most cases even ask the many small questions that I can ask Virgil, much less be answered with any openness.

Virgil makes nine or ten dollars a week the summer months; he does yard work, gardens and house cleaning. In the winter he makes less'n that, of co'se. People is mighty kind to him. He lives with his sister. She and her husband pays eight dollars a month rent for the house, two rooms with a kitchen and a porch. His sister does his washin' and she washes for the university students, where his father is janitor and gits washin' for her to do. She likes to wash. He pays her $1.50 a week, and brengs in thengs too to eat, some. His younger brother he don' pay nothin', because he haven't got a job. His brother have the little sleepin' porch and Virgil jes takes him a cot and a blanket and sleeps good right in the middle of the back-yard; the fence palin's all round is high as your head. Virgil does not eat any breakfast, people these days have ceruls and aigs and that stuff. When they lived in the country on the farm his mother got up every morning at four o'clock and baked biscuits, had a dish pan where she jes dumped 'em into, and kep it warm, and went on bakin' more, and then she always had her corn pone. That's what Mamma liked was corn pone. And we had ham and potatoes and grits and milk and everything. Papa said Mama ought not to work in the field, she had so many children, but she say she rather work in de field than stay in de house, so she res' a while, and come on wid us. Virgil's mother died twelve years ago, and his father says he never will marry again till he finds a woman as fine as she was. He's fifty and say he's not studyin' any woman. He say he ain't got no nature; but he gits about, we all laughs at him bout dat. Mamma used to tell us chillun to put cotton leaves in our hats so we wouldn' feel the sun. If breakfasts were like that these days Virgil would eat. He takes something for lunch with him or gets a bottle of milk. That's what he likes better than anything, sweetmilk. He used to drink four bottles a day when it was five cents, but now it's ten and he jes drinks a bottle. He has supper at his sister's.

Eddie, his sister's husband, is a shoeshine, been at one place twelve years, cepn' one year. Virgil's father lives two blocks away. He don' pay no rent because he's buyin' the house, put fresh shingles on the roof and pays five dollars a month and sometimes more, and Virgil gives him two dollars some months to hep, and a young married couple has a room there and they pay him five dollars rent a month and his breakfast. He eats his supper at Virgil's sister's. But when his father is hungry, ef he don' find sumpn' at one place he jes keeps on walkin' till he gits it. He's got $311 paid on the house, so that's pretty good; hit was jes five hundred for the price.

Virgil's brother got two weeks' work on the new road with the government, and that made him $20. He say he had to work pretty hard one day but mostly 'twas easy. He gave his sister eight dollars, and five to his father, and with the rest he bought him some shirts and pyjamas. The girls like his brother.

Virgil hisself is twenty-five, and if he could save up ahead and get some furniture, he says he would like to get married; he knows some nice Christian girls.

The reason Eddie was away was because they gave him a year at Leavenworth for sellin' some stuff they call nargoddie; they name was morphine pills, Eddie says. He done it for a white man, but he wouldn't tell who. He said he ain' never go tell ef he stay in the pen all his life, because the white man had been so nice to him. It was not so much giving money, though Eddie sold one day it was $87 worth. You see Eddie likes to drink. So the jedge giv him a year, and Eddie say he was lucky because he was already under a five-year suspended sentence just run two years fer sellin' this here nargoddie for that white man. Eddie say he learnt his lesson.

At the penitentiary Eddie had nice clean sheets and everything. There was one week he had to work hard, but after that he carried the messages to the superintendent. On Saturdays all could lay off and go to a baseball game. On Sunday they dressed up and could go to church; they was all give a suit. When he got home Eddie had a nice brown suit, and had growed right fat. If they didn't want to go to church Sunday, they could just put their collars on and sit around talking all day. Said he didn't think of a woman the whole time he was there, he reckon it was the saltpeter they puts in the food.

When they were taking Eddie off on the train there was a white man too, he had got three years in Georgia. So he says to Eddie what you cryin' for, you got jes one year, I got three years? So my sister ask him what you git three years for? and he said for makin' money. Makin' paper money, an' he don't care nothin'. So Eddie said naw I learnt my lesson. We all likes Eddie.

The barbershop gave Eddie his job again as soon as he got back. Though, when he first got home he rested a week. First two days he jes lay round the house. Then hit seem like one woman wasn't enough for him, so he run round two three nights, and my sister fussed at him, an' that's all there was to that. Eddie sho' is good to my sister, when she want a dress he say go git it.

First three months Eddie was at the penitentiary seem like ev'y mornin' Virgil's sister jes wake up crying. But they got on fine. Virgil was workin' and he bought all they needed. Ev'y week his sister wrote down what they

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got to have and he bought it. An' that's why now his sister say he ain' need to pay nothin', but he say naw he can pay, so he pays a dollar and a half.

Virgil tells me then of a white man in the penitentiary, Eddie said. He was there for life, for killing one of the guards. When the doctor went in to see him they always sent two sheriffs along. This white man hadn' seen the sun for seventeen years. But he didn' care. He'd got fat, and he had a nice room and raised canary birds. He didn' have no family, jes only one mother. And she had a whole heap of money. But he done got rich hissef selling canary birds. People was always comin' there buyin' his canary birds.

STARK YOUNG.

Mostly Unfunny

JUST NOW is a pretty rocky time for pictures, what with purity leagues beating the mental age down and everybody looking toward Hollywood with an expression of pity-the-poor-sailors-on-a-night-like-this; and I suppose we should be very gentle with movies for a while, as they are a sick man. But after moving in and out of theatres for upwards of two weeks and drawing almost nothing but blanks (and this is to include the revival of such elaborate lollypops as "Cavalcade"), a person can end up feeling savage. Same old story of waste and slapdash. Scattered through a dozen nullities there was enough of wit and feeling and hard cash to make two or three first-rate films; but the two or three weren't made; there is no provision for that. The trade would bear a dozen, so here we are.

Fortunately, Warners have managed to throw two rather good ones into the breach, "Here Comes the Navy" being the first. In it James Cagney enlists in the navy in order to get even with one of its petty officers, Pat O'Brien, and does not really get even after all, falling in love with his sister (I mean O'Brien's), and heaping coals of fire instead. Essentially, the old boys' school plot, rewritten for battleships. So far as fidelity to background is concerned, it is an ambitious and ballyhooed sort of fidelity, the kind in which Hollywood is never fortunate. The routine of the service is very well conveyed, but those old library shots of maneuvers might as well have been painted on glass. And the battle-practice scenes—people standing around a powder bag that has caught fire wondering if it is going to catch fire; and the first-cruise seaman being made a warrant officer (warrant officers are made in heaven); and the official benevolence—"The navy wants to make men, not break them." Well well, I heard different, but let all that go as being too technical. The saving business of the picture is the give-and-take as between Cagney and O'Brien, who do not so much act parts as make them. Cagney especially is a very good man for the films, he is all over the place, expressive from head to foot, and catholic of appeal—though I do not know whether the freshness of all this will go on forever. His latest movie is not his best, but has a lot of bright quirks and is worth going to.

"Friends of Mr. Sweeney" (at the Mayfair in New York) is comedy with a stiffening of rather aimless satire, made over from an Elmer Davis novel. About Charles Ruggles, once a wild wildcat and now becoming a stuffed one from long association with his boss, the owner-editor of a liberal weekly. (Hear.) In the end, he breaks away one night, and spins around with Ann Dvorak upsetting people, getting tight, catching crooks, politicians and the owner himself with pants not quite all the way up. Some (not all) of the satire is pretty far fetched, but the lines are good and situations funny—there is even smooth dramatic irony where irony usually comes out at you wrapped up in custard pies. The cast is hand-picked from top to bottom, with Eugene Pallette, Berton Churchill and Harry Tyler standing out pleasantly. Ruggles and the director (Edward Ludwig) seem to hold key positions, one with intelligence and character sense, the other with an eye to the whole, that each piece should fall into place quietly, with a neat forward motion.

In the matter of constructing these two comedies, the basic purpose of the play came first, the humorous slant afterwards. We are now about to enter upon a whole string of pictures that start building from the roof down, that begin their fun and frolic before they have written their play. "Private Scandal" does this, and escapes the junkyard only by virtue of a few good sequences and quite a bit of good work from Ned Sparks, ZaSu Pitts and others. Mr. Sparks pecks around, a gloomy and cynical bantam (too much rope given him here though), trying to find the murderer of the boss while the office force gets in his hair and Miss Pitts tries to find her way into or out of the W.C. The story moves along somehow, but is foolish, and thus fails to shore up the comic element, which thus falls to pieces. . . . "Ladies Should Listen" goes the same way, only much more definitely, on account of Cary Grant and the sad Alfred Savoir comedy from which it was made. . . . "She Learned About Sailors" mixes Lew Ayres, Alice Faye and Mitchell and Durant all up in a pretty terrible brew of misunderstanding, clean relations and acrobatics as of the Keith Circuit; while "Cockeyed Cavaliers" is just one happy ragbag of Wheeler and Woolsey jokes, and perhaps I should say so-called.

But to pass from helter-skelter entertainment to a more intellectual, drawing-room sort of comedy, there has been brought from England a picture that manages a most peculiar unity of tone. It is called "For Love or Money" and it stars Robert Donat and Wendy Barrie, and it carries on every inch of celluloid its trademark, which is the word ham. I had not expected to see anything so steadily unfunny again for quite a space, but was immediately corrected by what is almost a companion piece, "The Lady Is Willing." This Hollywood version of a French comedy has Leslie Howard popping in and out of places with false whiskers and an intellectual playfulness that is enough to make you feel embarrassed for all concerned, including the projectionist. Like the British film, it is, part by part, neither very bad nor very good; where both are notable is that when all the parts become one unrelieved entity, it is hard to imagine comedy more dull and witless and flat on its feet.

In the way of melodrama, there are two more pieces that should be given a wide berth: "Blind Date," an extremely old and homey triangle story, and "Wild Gold," a tale about mines and love and how the dam broke. "Find the Woman," which shows a cub reporter among thieves, places a notch higher; it is stupid, but also fast, and will at least keep you awake.

OTIS FERGUSON.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Midsummer Medley

IT SEEMS to me that Dorothea Brande's "Becoming a Writer" (Harcourt, Brace, $2) has been making less of a splash than it deserves to make. Though it appeared last March, I can't remember seeing any long reviews of it. Yet this little book answers the heart's prayer of thousands on thousands of people: they are unhappy, thwarted, restless, in a word, literary; they want to find a creative outlet in writing, and Mrs. Brande tells them just how to find it. She says very little about Dialogue or Plot Structure, she says nothing at all about Clarity, Elegance and all the other frills that are taught by professors of composition. Instead she goes straight to fundamentals. She tells her pupils how to go to the typewriter and write—not stare at the wallpaper, light one cigarette from the butt of another, wonder why in the devil I went into this literary business instead of doing something sensible like cutting my throat—not mumble, resharpen pencils, but *write,* turn out words, more words and still more words, then go down to dinner whistling and eager to celebrate a day's work well done. Mrs. Brande believes there is a writer's magic that can be taught, and she sets out to teach it.

She has invented methods for overcoming the type of self-consciousness that is a writer's most insidious enemy. Beginners are not the only ones who suffer from its attacks. Almost any writer can remember mornings when his typewriter became a hostile audience; sitting down in front of it, he was immediately overcome with stage fright. The silent keys began to whisper to one another: "Why doesn't he begin typing?—See how red his face is and feel his cold fingers.—Yes, he's losing his nerve." If he suddenly rattled off a few sentences, the typewriter keys would whisper again in the first moment of silence: "He's saying anything that comes into his head, and it's all been said before, so many times." On mornings like this, a writer begins to feel the same desperate embarrassment for himself that one feels for an inexperienced speaker who fumbles at his notes, stammers and forgets everything he was prepared to say. Perhaps he has the same experience a second morning, and a third; but unless he is a hopeless case there finally comes a time when, as if by magic, everything seems easy again.

It is this ease-making magic that Mrs. Brande is trying to teach. Her book is simple and is written mostly in the imperative mood. "Do this," she says. "Save your energy. Double your output." She prescribes a few simple exercises designed for changing one's unconscious from a capricious enemy into a faithful ally. One of them is to rise half an hour before your usual time and, without talking or reading or even thinking about what you will say, to go straight to your desk and write until you are tired. This is good practice and makes for fluency, but I suspect some writers of publishing the results of it. Another exercise recommended by Mrs. Brande is that of making—and keeping—an appointment with yourself to write for a specified short period, and changing the period each day. By this device your unconscious mind is gradually trained, broken like a wild colt. Then, after these simpler exercises have been performed for several weeks, it is time to begin a more arduous routine, one that she guarantees to produce the true writer's magic (I shan't reveal it here).

Mrs. Brande says that many of her pupils have applied her method successfully. It sounds convincing and, if it is followed trustingly, I see no reason why it shouldn't work. That is why it saddens and infinitely disheartens me. It promises to produce a whole new litter of "competent writers" and there are too many of that breed already. There are too many people who, by training and cultivating themselves like a pack of bird dogs, have learned to go out in the fields and point at nothing. There are too many people who have followed "the path to self-expression" and found that it led them nowhere in particular. I agree with Mrs. Brande that there is a writer's magic which smooths away half the difficulties in his path, but I disagree on its nature. The true writer's magic is the art of keeping his eyes not on the *subject,* the man writing, the man who desperately wonders whether or not he is a genius (as if it mattered), but rather on the *object,* on the lives and hopes and troubles of the people he is writing about.

In the first part of "Dynamite" (Viking, $2), Louis Adamic was helped by just this sort of magic. These first three hundred pages, in which he tells the story of the battles, the bombings and the massacres that recurred in the American labor movement from the time of the Molly Maguires till the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, are still the most valuable portion of the book. Haymarket, Homestead, Ludlow and Centralia, Gene Debs and Joe Hill: these are names that recall familiar tragedies, which Adamic hasn't tried to embellish. Neither has he performed any extraordinary labors of research; it is only in his long account of the McNamara trial that he brings forward fresh material to change our conception of the case. But what he has done amazingly well is to tell these old stories with his eyes always on the object, and to write in a sharp, straightforward fashion that keeps the reader moving ahead and ends by giving him a picture of labor violence from the side of the underdog, from the standpoint of the men whom Adamic knew when he was an immigrant laborer. Here, briefly suggested, is the background of bitterness and desperation that makes every American strike a war in miniature and every trial of strikers a court martial.

The last section of the book, recently revised, is the one in which Adamic advances his own ideas on labor racketeering, overproduction, the general status of capitalism and whither are we drifting. Here he is less persuasive, less direct. There are two excellent passages—one in which he tells about sabotage from personal experience and another in which he describes the steel strike of 1934, the strike that never took place, and makes it seem more significant than many labor wars fought to a bloody conclusion—but both of these are narratives, not essays on current questions. Fundamentally Adamic is a story teller; his heart beats faster than his brain. When he comes to generalize about capital and labor, he is too eager to prove his theories and lets his eyes drift away from the facts. The material lately added to this section shows that his sympathies are more and more on the workers' side, but it also interferes with the logical sequence of his narrative. The best that can be said for the new edition of "Dynamite" is that it makes a fine book available to more readers, at a lower price.

I didn't have to choke back great sobs when I heard that The Hound and Horn was suspending publication, but none the less I was sorry to see it go. For the last two or

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three years I had ceased to read it regularly, but sometimes it published articles and even whole issues (like the one devoted to Henry James) so good that one was compelled to hunt them out. Always it was nice to feel that The Hound and Horn was there, appearing each quarter and continuing to occupy a place of its own.

It was perhaps the last of the magazines that sprang more or less directly from the old Harvard Monthly, a college magazine with many offspring. From 1890 till 1916, Harvard was the most literary of American universities, and The Monthly was Harvard at its most literary. But there was, when America entered the War, a division among the editors: half of them were violently patriotic, half were violently pacifistic. One of them, a pacifist (and later a famous writer) was arrested and deported from France by another editor, then a captain in the military intelligence service. By this time, however, the magazine had broken in two and foundered under the strain.

I mention this forgotten history because the esthetic tradition of The Harvard Monthly was later revived by The Dial (under the editorship of Scofield Thayer and Sibley Watson) and because the tradition of The Dial was continued by The Hound and Horn. The two magazines resembled each other in many ways: they had the same careful typography, fine reproductions of modern paintings, good foreign contributors, and the same effect of total immersion in the arts. The stories printed in both were of uncertain quality; a few were excellent, but most of them gave the impression of having been chosen for their lack of faults—for being not trite, not mechanical, not commercial—rather than for any positive qualities. The book reviews in The Hound and Horn, like those in The Dial, were long, slow-paced and showed evidence of second thought; they were the best part of both magazines.

The Hound and Horn followed no political policy; it tried to be merely a repository of good writing. Toward the end, however, there was a division among its contributors like the one that appeared in wartime among the editors of The Harvard Monthly; some of them were becoming Marxists, others were neo-Catholics or Southern Agrarians. This wasn't, of course, the reason why the magazine suspended publication. It died for lack of funds—or one might expand this statement by saying that in an age of political unrest there was nobody sufficiently interested in a purely esthetic magazine to make the sacrifices necessary to keep it alive.

MALCOLM COWLEY.

Hitler's Paymaster

Hitler Over Europe, by Ernst Henri. New York: Simon and Schuster. 298 pages. $1.90.

THERE are several lines of approach to the interpretation of Nazi Germany. Political thinkers have analyzed the reasons for the failure of the democratic Republic which went down without striking a blow. Psychological thinkers probe the bruised mind of the German middle class, broken by the consequences of the period of inflation and wounded in its national self-respect by the outrage of the Versailles Peace. And this latter line of interpretation will help us to understand why German Fascism suffers from its peculiar abnormalities, its mania of persecution and its sadism. There have been several good books on this complex phenomenon that followed these clues, but none of them made an adequate use of the economic key. Whatever else Fascism may be, it is primarily a movement for the capture of the state by an organized section of the capitalist class. With the abandonment of laissez-faire, this class moves on to the perception that the state is a positive instrument, indispensable to its operations, which it must control absolutely. It becomes impatient of the risks and compromises of democracy, and solves its problem by dictatorship.

The first essay at this indispensable economic interpretation has been made by a hitherto unknown writer who hides himself under a pseudonym. "Hitler Over Europe" is beyond question the most brilliant and the most important book that these events have inspired. Its writer is a skillful journalist who never quits the plane of contemporary facts. He digs them out; he marshals them; he compels them to disclose their meaning. He never generalizes or philosophizes, but only a very inattentive reader will fail to perceive that he is making a daring application to current events of the Marxist canons for the interpretation of history. He is, I am told, a Russian who has lived for many years in Germany. The main facts on which he relies are known to any careful reader of the daily press, or at least to anyone who read German newspapers before the counter-revolution. There are others for which one could find verification in the publications of the more scrupulous of Hitler's opponents, who comment in exile on the evolution of the dictatorship. But Ernst Henri has sources of information ampler than these. He seems to carry in his head an elaborate "Who's Who" of the German business world, and he claims a knowledge of the exact meaning of all the intrigues and ambitions of that world, such as only the shrewdest financial editors ever acquire, and never divulge. How he gained it, who helped him, what organization opened its dossiers to him, he does not tell us, nor am I able from my own knowledge to test the accuracy of these more intimate details. The value of the book in no way depends on them. It fits the main facts accessible to all students of these events, and furnishes at once a convincing interpretation and a guide to the future.

The prime mover in this chapter of history, as Ernst Henri reads it, is the heavy industry of the Ruhr, with the coal millionaire Thyssen at its head. The part that Thyssen played in financing Hitler's propaganda was disclosed by his former second-in-command, Gregor Strasser, who was murdered in the recent butchery. Without the lavish support of the German steel trust, Hitler would have remained what he was before he received it—an eccentric nuisance and nothing more. Some of Thyssen's motives are manifest enough. He and his fellow captains of industry obtained both the revival of the munitions industry and the suppression of the German Labor movement. What that has meant in the degradation of its standard of life and the sentencing of millions of men and women to hopeless and unrelieved unemployment, this book describes in a terrible but demonstrably truthful chapter.

The core of the story lies, however, in the inner history of the German steel trust itself. Under the impact of the slump it was staggering into bankruptcy, when Brüning saved it. The leadership within it was divided between a Liberal-Catholic group under Hugo Wolff and a die-hard, nationalist group under Thyssen. They were separated by their attitude towards the Republican regime, but above all by their attitude to France. Thyssen had been, during the War, the protagonist of the extremer war aims, which included the annexation of the French iron-ore field of Briey. He endured a lengthy imprisonment during the French occupation of the Ruhr. He was and is the head of the

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resistance to the penetration of its industry by French capital, which the Wolff group favored. To eliminate this pacific group it was now necessary to upset Brüning. How that was planned at secret meetings in the Ruhr, with the aid of Hugenberg and von Papen, is generally known. The sequel is not so well known. The Nazi dictatorship enabled Thyssen to overcome the rival group, and to consolidate the steel trust and its associated industries under his all but absolute control.

To what end? To sway the internal economic life of the Third Reich is much, but it is not enough. The heavy industry of the Ruhr can thrive only by export. Its capacity of production has multiplied since the War, while its market, as the result first of the slump and then of the nearly universal restrictions on trade that followed it, has dwindled. In such a world the volcanic energies of such an industry must erupt in war. It must win back its raw material (the iron ore of Lorraine), and conquer closed markets with poison gas.

The main thesis of this illuminating book is, then, that the war aims imposed by the great industrialists on Imperial Germany between 1914 and 1918 are substantially identical with the plan of expansion, the racial empire, the Nordic confederation that the Nazis advocate. Their racial mysticism is a mere disguise for purposes of propaganda. What they claim by the right of Nordic blood is in fact the market that the Ruhr requires. Rosenberg, at the head of a sort of Brown International, is preparing the way for conquest by creating his allied Fascist parties in Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, the Baltic republics, Poland and Rumania. But Göring is forging in his illicit air force the decisive instrument of conquest.

Much has happened since this daring book first appeared in its English edition. The trend of Nazi policy has on the whole followed its diagnosis. But the strangest part of the story lies outside its scope. French heavy industry in its duel with that of the Ruhr has taken to itself as an ally the Red Air Force of Soviet Russia. On that development it would be interesting to interview the ghost of Marx.

H. N. Brailsford.

The Don Cossacks

And Quiet Flows the Don, by Mikhail Sholokhov. Translated from the Russian by Stephen Garry. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

"AND QUIET FLOWS THE DON" is an extraordinary novel of the Don Cossacks written by a man who was himself one of their number and fought through the War and Revolution. The book falls so inevitably into four distinct periods—Peace, War, Revolution and Civil War—that history might be said to have given Sholokhov the symphonic structure of his novel. Or, more properly, the Marxian interpretation of history, for without the aid of such interpretation a contemporary author could hardly have reconstructed so logically, so realistically, events whose cataclysmic nature might have taken another novelist several generations to see objectively.

Sholokhov shows the love of their native soil to have been the dominant emotion in the lives of his Cossacks. This passionate preoccupation with the land is the strongest note in the pastoral opening section of the novel. "You're a fool, Aksinia, a fool," says the young Gregor Melekhov to his neighbor's wife who proposes flight with him. "Where shall I go away from the farm?... I'll never stir anywhere away from the land. Here there is the steppe, and something to breathe—but there? Last summer I went with father to the station. I almost died. Engines roaring, the air heavy with burning coal. How the people live, I don't know; perhaps they're used to it! I'll never leave the village."

It was the call of their land even more than the thought of their women back home that tormented the Cossacks in the terrible years of the War, a smoldering discontent that was already flaring into rebellion when the news of the first revolution broke through to the front; and it was the same call that tore the men away from officers who would have thrown them into the ranks of Kornilov and the military dictatorship. Finally, this love of the land became chiefly responsible for some of the bloodiest chapters of the civil war: it was hard for the fiercely primitive "free" people of the Don region, still in the grip of their old leaders, to believe that the dictatorship of the proletariat did not covet their soil.

"See how few are left who wish to look on at our death!" cries Podtielkov, chairman of the Don Revolutionary Committee, about to be hanged by the Whites. "Their consciences have pricked them. On behalf of the toiling people, in their interests we have struggled against the rats of generals, not sparing our lives. And now we are perishing at your hands! But we do not curse you. You have been bitterly deceived. The revolutionary government will come, and you will realize on whose side was the truth. The finest sons of the gentle Don have you laid in that hole. . . ."

Maxim Gorky has compared "And Quiet Flows the Don" with Tolstoy's "War and Peace." In addition to its panoramic grandeur, the wealth of its characters and its historical realism, Sholokhov's book is memorable for its portrayal of the primitive and already almost legendary life of the Don Cossacks.

Edwin Seaver.

Water Over the Dam[1]

American Diplomacy During the World War, by Charles Seymour. Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press. 429 pages. $3.

THIS ADMIRABLE volume was sorely needed. It was needed, in this pathologically pessimistic and captious age, to reëxplain and reëmphasize the triumphant ideals by which President Wilson guided America (and to a large extent Europe) to the Armistice of 1918, because those ideals, sabotaged at Versailles, have grown dim and indistinct through the lapse of time and the misrepresentations of the disappointed. It was also needed because we have never had an authoritative and well balanced account of the astounding revolution in American policy from the strict isolationism of 1914 to the enthusiastic acceptance in 1918 of the principle of American participation in European settlements and in a League of Nations.

Who can state authoritatively why the United States entered the War? Who today remembers that The New York Tribune, the day after the Fourteen Points address, declared enthusiastically: "The President's words are the words of a hundred million. Today, as never before, the whole nation marches with the President. There is nothing more admirable in American history. He has carried the United States back to Europe; he has established an American world policy and ideal of international policy throughout the civilized world." Who realizes today that

[1] Comment by the editors on some of the points raised by Professor Fay will be found on page 2 of this issue.

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it was because of the Fourteen Points that Germany appealed for an armistice to Wilson, instead of to the Allied Powers who would have rejected the appeal and prolonged the War? Who knows the skill by which Colonel House, in the closing days of the fighting, brought the Allies to accept (with a couple of modifications) the Fourteen Points that for nine months they had been carefully sidestepping? When they still persisted in refusing to accept them, he quietly hinted that Wilson alone might act on Germany's appeal. "That would amount," said Clemenceau, "to a separate peace between the United States and the Central Powers?" "It might," replied House. Instantly the atmosphere changed and the Fourteen Points became the promised basis of the peace.

All these questions, and many more, Professor Seymour deals with clearly and convincingly in his Albert Shaw Lectures at Johns Hopkins. He has the inestimable advantage of drawing upon the collection of House Papers deposited with Yale University. Much of this valuable material he edited several years ago in the four volumes of "Intimate Papers." But he has quarried deeper into it, lifted further the veil on many obscure or disputed points, and corrected many current misconceptions.

Concerning America's entrance into the War, Professor Seymour says nothing of the much heralded Allied propaganda and atrocity stories; little of the fear of German hegemony; and as for the much talked-of wicked Wall Street influence, he is emphatic that there is not a scrap of evidence of it. As American policy was determined almost solely by President Wilson, he confines himself to the evolution of the President's views. First neutrality, with the hope that we could stand aside and then mediate effectively. Then, caught in the inexorable vise of the illegal British blockade policy and the illegal German submarine campaign, he found the latter more reprehensible, because British damage to American property could be compensated after the War, but for German destruction of American life there could be no compensation. He began to realize that America could not stand aside; either he must bring about peace or enter the struggle. Hence the exploratory mission of Colonel House to Europe early in 1915; the proposal to Grey for a conference and the "probable" participation of the United States on the Allied side if Germany refused; his appeal of December, 1916, to the belligerents to state their war aims; and finally, after the unrestricted submarine campaign, the sending home of Bernstorff and the invitation to Congress to declare war.

Before publishing his volume Professor Seymour submitted the manuscript or proofs to a number of influential persons: Colonel House, Sir William Wiseman, Count Bernstorff, an anonymous German Navy archivist and others. Their comments, embodied in footnotes, comprise not the least interesting points of his interesting study. For example, one of Colonel House's comments: "You fail to emphasize the mistake President Wilson made in going to Europe in person. . . . I do not believe he realized his commanding position. He was the *God on the Mountain*, and his decisions were practically final. When he came to Europe and sat in conference with the Prime Ministers and representatives of other states, he gradually lost his place as first citizen of the world."

Wilson failed to keep us out of war, and failed at Versailles. But Professor Seymour concludes: "Perhaps the story is not yet told. Historians of the future may yet cite Wilson as the classic example of Browning's thesis of success through failure. Whatever the future may bring forth, he waked the world to a great vision."

It is to be hoped that this volume will be widely read in this country and widely translated and read abroad, for what the world needs today is a clearer comprehension of Wilson's policies and a little more of the Wilsonian vision.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Books in Brief

The Dutch East Indies: Its Government, Problems and Politics, by Amry Vandenbosch. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 385 pages. $3.

SINCE comparatively little authoritative information on the widespread and diversely peopled colonial empire of the Dutch East Indies has been available in English, the present comprehensive study is welcome. With a desirable minimum of attention to abstract conceptions of the relations between Eastern and Western peoples, it treats of a region economically and strategically more important than is generally realized. Dutch colonial policy for some time has been theoretically pointed toward the preparation of the East Indies for greater and greater political autonomy. In practice it tries to protect native land ownership, to respect native institutions and to rule at least in part through the traditional native ruling class. Population and output have grown tremendously under Dutch rule and through the investment of about a billion and a half dollars of foreign capital, though "the economic benefit . . . has not gone into higher standards of living but has been neutralized by an increase of population." Forced labor for public purposes and specifically enforceable contracts for plantation labor, with penal sanctions, continue in parts of the islands, but not in Java, where two-thirds of the population is packed. The Dutch realize they hold their empire on sufferance, and voluntarily strive to surpass any standards of administration as yet set up by the League Mandates commission. And in spite of such rather recent developments as nationalism and the injection of communist agitation, Dutch control for the present seems secure.

A. P. S.

The Cambridge History of the British Empire. Volume VIII. Part I. Australia. Edited by J. Holland Rose, A. P. Newton and E. A. Benicans. New York: The Macmillan Company. 819 pages. $7.

There is much less of the concern with documentation and dissection of evidence in this series of volumes than in the Cambridge Medieval and the Cambridge Ancient Histories. On the other hand, there are fewer articles which, either as absorbing narrative or as inspired interpretation, deserve the adjective brilliant. The comprehensiveness of the volume, however, is up to the standard of the Cambridge histories. There is one mechanical defect, but a very serious one—the omission of maps.

The New House, by Nancy Noon Kendall. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers. $2.50.

This novel romanticizes a second-generation Pioneer who could not bear the immediate world about him, and so went off to a lonely spot and created a new world for himself. Miss Kendall's narrative lacks all the virile qualities the movies and the novelists have taught us to expect of novels about pioneers. In her hands, pioneering becomes a gentlemanly pursuit. (One has visions of Wordsworth reclining under a shady tree, writing about sweat and the soil.) Her Peter sweated little physically, a great deal mentally. A hard blow from an unhappy love affair almost warped him

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for life when he was a young man. He tried to cure himself by becoming a pioneer. First he built himself a New House, then he married a wife totally unlike his former sweetheart. With the help of his money, he created a miniature city until, eventually, his sensitive pride was quieted. "The New House" is a frankly romantic novel that should appeal to readers who are tired of hard-boiled pioneering. J. M.

Social Development in Young Children, by Susan Isaacs. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 492 pages. $4.

This, a companion book to the author's earlier "Intellectual Growth in Young Children," is a record of intensive and systematic observation of a group of very young children in the Malting House School in England. The author approaches this material, and interprets it, chiefly from the standpoint of psychoanalysis.

Nathaniel Hawthorne: Representative Selections, edited by Austin Warren. American Writers Series. New York: American Book Company. 368 pages. $1.50.

If this volume of selections from Hawthorne is fairly representative of the newly-inaugurated American Writers Series—under the general editorship of Professor Harry H. Clark—the series will be an extremely useful contribution to the study of American letters. A literary student, for example, might well be challenged to recharge the discussion of Hawthorne with new vitality; yet Mr. Warren, in his introduction, has performed the tour de force of making the subject seem as fresh as ever. The things he says about Hawthorne's attitudes toward society, toward ethics, toward philosophy and so on, have probably never been said quite so cogently or quite so responsibly; and his selections could hardly be bettered. Along with an almost equally excellent volume on Whitman, edited by Professor Floyd Stoval, Mr. Warren's "Hawthorne" throws a beam of light across the academic landscape. N. A.

Contributors

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EDWIN SEAVER is the author of "The Company," a novel.

The initials signed to the brief reviews are those of Arthur P. Scott, Jerre Mangione and Newton Arvin.

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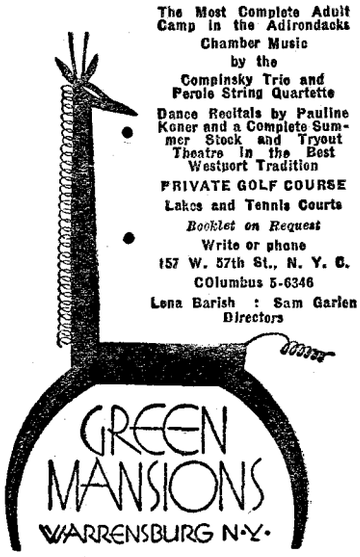
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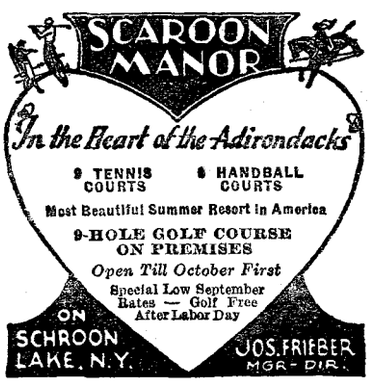
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